DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 149 939 | RC 010 364

AUTHOR	Stevens, Susan MacCulloch
TITLE	Passamaquoddy Economic Development in Cultural and Historical Perspective.
INSTITUTION	Economic Development Administration (DOC), Washington, D.C. Office of Economic Research.; Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Center for the Study of Man.
PUB DATE	73
NOTE	177p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Susan M. Stevens, c/o Roger Gabriel, Director, Indian Resource Center, 95 Main Street, Orono, Maine 04473 ($2.75)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$10.03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Agency Role; *American Indians; *Community Study; *Cultural Background; Culture Conflict; Decision Making; *Economic Development; Educational Needs; Employment; *Federal Programs; Governance; History; Income; Management; Migration Patterns; Natural Resources; Religion; Reservations (Indian); Sex Role; Social Characteristics; *Sociocultural Patterns; Treaties; Tribes; Values; Welfare; Work Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS	Canada; Maine; *Passamaquoddys

ABSTRACT

Information gathered via a 3-year first-hand experience with life on the Passamaquoddy Indian Reservations (Canadian-Maine border) is presented. Subject headings and representative sub-headings include: cultural and historical setting (population characteristics, physical setting, and State and Federal relationships); social institutions through time (kinship alliance, sex roles, age, social class, tribal government, factions, religion, education, treaty rights, and welfare); overall organization of the community (in/out migration and Indian identity); relationships to the outside world (Washington County, Maine, etc.); capsule history (missionaries, fur trade, French and English wars, post-war period, Revolutionary War, 1800's, 1900's to 1950's, and 1950's to present); tribal wealth (utilization, management, and potential of natural resources; capital resources, etc.); tribal income (local and distant employment, hunting/fishing, anonymous donor funds, Catholic Bureau of Indian Affairs, State Department of Indian Affairs, patterns of income acquisition and use, Federal programs, etc.); products, services, and markets; psycho-social factors affecting work patterns and economic development, social obligations, the idea of limited good, anti-work incentives, and personal, tribal and red vs white goals; management (decision making, law, education, etc.); implementation of Federal social programs (failures, successes, analysis, and suggestions). (JC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED149939

Passamaquoddy Economic Development in Cultural and Historical Perspective

by

Susan MacCulloch Stevens

Mount Vernon, Maine

1973

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Susan
Stevens
TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Prepared under a contract with The Center for the Study of Man, Smithsonian Institution; and the U.S. Economic Development Administration Research Division.

RC 010364

"(C) Susan M. Stevens 1974"

This material is copyrighted and may be used only with the author's permission in publications. The material may be used without permission, however by students and schools if citation is given of the source.

Table of Contents

Part I Cultural and Historical Setting . . . 1

- Population Characteristics . . . 4
- Physical Setting . . . 5
- Relationship to State and Federal Government . . . 6

Social Institutions Through Time . . . 8

- Kinship Alliance . . . 8
- Sex Roles . . . 10
- Age . . . 11
- Social Class . . . 11
- Tribal Government . . . 12
- Factions and Conflict Resolution . . . 15
- Religion and the Supernatural World . . . 17
- Education . . . 20
- Treaty Rights and Welfare . . . 23

Overall Organization of the Community . . . 27

- In/Out Migration and Seasonal Patterns . . . 27
- Indian Identity . . . 29

Relationships to the Outside World . . . 29

- Washington County . . . 31
- The State of Maine . . . 32
- The Federal Government . . . 33
- Canadian Maritimes . . . 35
- Pan-Indian Influences . . . 36

Tentacles of Academia 37

Capsule History of the Passamaquoddy 38

The Missionaries 40

The Fur Trade 42

The French and English Wars 43

Post-War Period 44

The Revolutionary War 46

The 1800's 49

1900's to 1950's 52

The 1950's to the Present 54

Part II Factors Affecting Economic Development 65

Tribal Wealth 65

Utilization and Management of Natural Resources 66

Potential Development of Natural Resources 68

Capital Resources 70

Other Tribal Resources 75

Tribal Income 78

Hunting and Fishing 78

Seasonal Work 78

Local Employment 79

Distant Employment 80

Anonymous Donor funds 80

Catholic Bureau of Indian Affairs 80

State Department of Indian Affairs 81

Bureau of Public Improvement Funds 82

Aid to Dependent Children 82

- Social Security . . . 82
- Federal Programs . . . 83
- Patterns of Income Acquisition and Use . . . 83

Products, Services and Markets . . . 86

- Products . . . 86
- Services . . . 88
- Markets . . . 91
- Problems . . . 94

Psycho-Social Factors Affecting Work Patterns and Economic Development . . . 95

- Social Obligations . . . 97
- The Idea of Limited Good . . . 98
- Anti-work Incentives . . . 100
- Pro-work Incentives . . . 105
- Personal Goals . . . 108
- Tribal Goals . . . 109
- Red and White Goals in Opposition . . . 112

Management . . . 115

- Selection of Management . . . 117
- Decision Making . . . 118
- Sources of Expertise . . . 121
- Law . . . 121
- Construction, Sanitation, Planning . . . 122
- Education . . . 122
- Government . . . 122
- Business and Management . . . 123

Implementation of Federal Social Programs 125

Failures 125

Successes 131

Analysis 137

Suggestions 143

References 152

Primary Locations of Indians in Maine Today 4a

Pleasant Point Reservation 4b

Indian Township Reservation 4c

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much of the material used in this study was gathered over a period of nearly three years while living on Indian Township Passamaquoddy Reservation; therefore I would like to acknowledge my debt to innumerable Passamaquoddy, particularly those of Indian Township, for the many questions answered and the help and patience extended. Special mention must be made, though, of Mrs. Lena Brooks and Mr. George Stevens, Sr., who told me much about the old days; and of John Stevens, former tribal chief, and present State Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who helped me assess and understand the complex developments since the 1950's, answered hundreds of questions in formal and informal interviews, and without whose help the suggestions for future economic development programs on the Maine reservations would be far less authoritative.

Thanks are also due Mr. Gregory Buesing for his information on the Wabanaki Confederacy, the Great Council Fire, and the role of the Passamaquoddy in the Revolutionary War, as well as the Seal Nose conspiracy of the early 1900's. Mr. Thomas Tureen, tribal attorney, was my primary source for materials concerning the history, progress and prospects of the Passamaquoddy Land case.

Special thanks are extended also to Mr. Glenn Starbird for his additions and corrections concerning Passamaquoddy political history.

I am grateful also for access to written materials in the Maine Department of Indian Affairs, the Maine State Library in Augusta, and Bangor Public Library.

PART ONE: CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL SETTING

The Passamaquoddy are an Eastern Woodlands people whose culture type was intermediate between sub-Arctic peoples to the north and agriculturalists to the south. Closely related are the Malecites of New Brunswick, the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, and the Penobscot Indians of central Maine. Archeological evidence indicates the Passamaquoddy have inhabited their present region for at least 3,000 years and perhaps longer. Thus, unlike many Indians in America today, the Passamaquoddy live where their forebears lived, and they have a strong sense of belonging to the land.

Reports of the early 1600's indicate that the Passamaquoddy were a semi-nomadic fishing and hunting people, who traveled within defined hunting territories in winter, converged as a unit at the spring salmon run, and lived together in a summer village (usually at Passamaquoddy Bay, part of the larger Bay of Fundy). At the summer village, agriculture was limited because of the soil characteristics and the short growing season; fish and seaweed were used as fertilizer, and beans, corn, squash, native tobacco and other plants were grown. The summer mainstay was seafood, which was abundant, and wild fruits and vegetables. Whales, seals, and porpoises were hunted from canoes--porpoise is still a rare sort of Passamaquoddy soul-food. Fish weirs reminiscent of those that appear in pictures painted in Virginia during the 1600's are still in evidence at Pleasant Point Reservation on the coast.

In the old days birch bark was the most commonly used material for everything from housing to household utensils to canoes; this region was the southermost area of the birch-bark culture. The birch canoe made travel relatively convenient on the waterways that abound in the area, so that rivers and lakes were skin to highways. The tribes of the area, therefore, have long been associated with particular rivers and lake chains; the St. Croix River, which serves as part of the boundary between Maine and Canada, is still associated with the Passamaquoddy, as was the St. John in earlier times.

Several types of houses were used in this transitional zone, including dome-shaped wigwams, longhouses, and conical tipis. Wigwams are still occasionally made, by hunters as overnight shelters and by children as playhouses.

Exogamous clans seem to have been prominent in early times. Today these have diminished to lineages whose members recall the form clan names but who do not practice a formal clan system.

The Passamaquoddy, who speak an Algonkian language known as Passamaquoddy-Malecite, are the only Indians left in New England who still daily use their native tongue. They are readily understood by the Malecites, less so by the Micmacs. The language is thought to be derived from a Proto-Algonkian structure with origins presumably in the Lake Ontario region and is relatively unchanged from that ancient form. English is also spoken by most people, although some old people are barely conversant in English.

The Passamaquoddy at one time belonged to the Wabanaki, or Abnaki Confederacy, and are thus referred to in some works as "Abnaki". Other names have been tacked on at various times by the French, the English, and by other Indians, and place names have also been confounded with tribal names. (Some Passamaquoddy pseudonyms are Etchimins, Openangoes, Schoodics, Unchagogs.) The Wabanaki Confederacy consisted of Algonkian-speaking tribes of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Maine, part of New Hampshire, and perhaps part of Quebec Province. The tribes were separate entities that united for common defense and were intimately involved in each other's political affairs. The confederacy was at war with the League of the Iroquois for many years, but eventually the two combined forces in a little-known coalition called "The Great Council Fire." This organization, which by 1749 had expanded to include all the tribes east of the Great Lakes and Ohio, lasted until 1880. Incredibly, the Iroquois usually fought for the English and the Wabanakis for the French, yet the two groups remained at peace with one another. Later the same situation prevailed when the Iroquois again fought with the English, and the Wabanakis sided with the American Revolutionists. (Just how this peace was maintained from opposite sides of the fence would make an interesting study.) The Passamaquoddy finally withdrew from the Great Council Fire in the early 1800's, feeling, according to one old Passamaquoddy storyteller, that the Iroquois had gotten "too bossy." Other Wabanakis withdrew at different times, and the old confederacy seems to have simply withered away.

Today, Passamaquoddy social ties are most close with each other on the two Passamaquoddy reservations, with the Penobscots in the same state, with the Malecites, and to a lesser extent with the Micmacs.

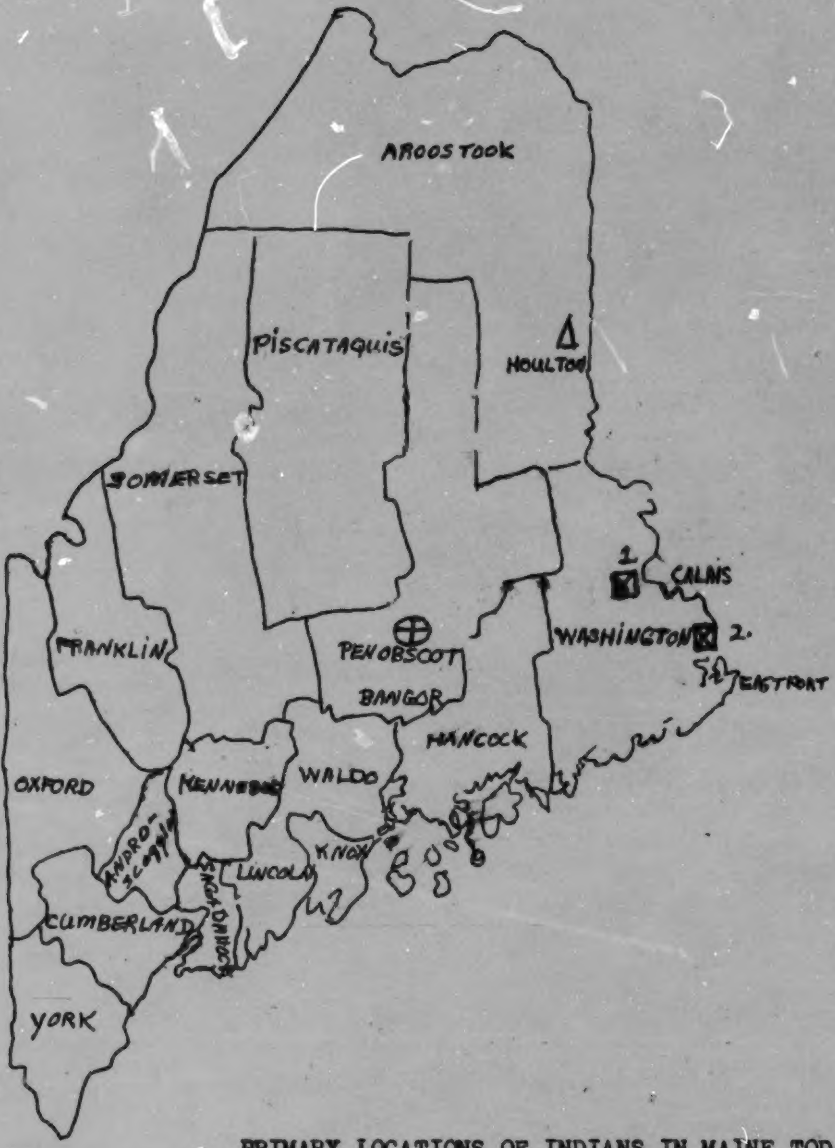
The Passamaquoddy reservations are located 50 miles apart. "Pleasant Point" or "Sebayick" is a one-hundred acre tract between Eastport and

Perry on the coast, overlooking magnificent Passamaquoddy Bay. "Indian Township" or "Medakmegook" is a 23,000 acre township located inland on the Schoodic Lakes chain, which empties into the St. Croix River. This reservation, which consists of forests, lakes, and rivers in a quite pristine state, belongs to the whole tribe. On it are two Indian settlements, seven miles apart, known as "The Strip" and "Peter Dana Point." This township is between Topsfield and Princeton but does not appear on most maps. Both reservations are on the Canadian Border, and both are in Washington County, the nation's most easterly county.

Population Characteristics

It has always been difficult to determine Passamaquoddy population figures, because of their migratory tendency. Many young people work in New England cities during the winter and return home in the spring, and others go to harvests in August and the fall months. Decades may pass before a person returns home for good. But in all, there are probably about 1,300 Passamaquoddies, both on and off reservation. As good jobs and housing increase on the reservation, on-reservation Passamaquoddy population is slowly increasing.

At the present time the average population at Indian Township is around 300, and that at Pleasant Point around 400. The actual labor force is much smaller, however. A large percent of the total consists of children, or mothers with dependent children. Some of the population are elderly (not a large number, for it is an achievement to live to an old age in this poverty-stricken, low-health-care area). Alcoholism,



PRIMARY LOCATIONS OF INDIANS IN MAINE TODAY

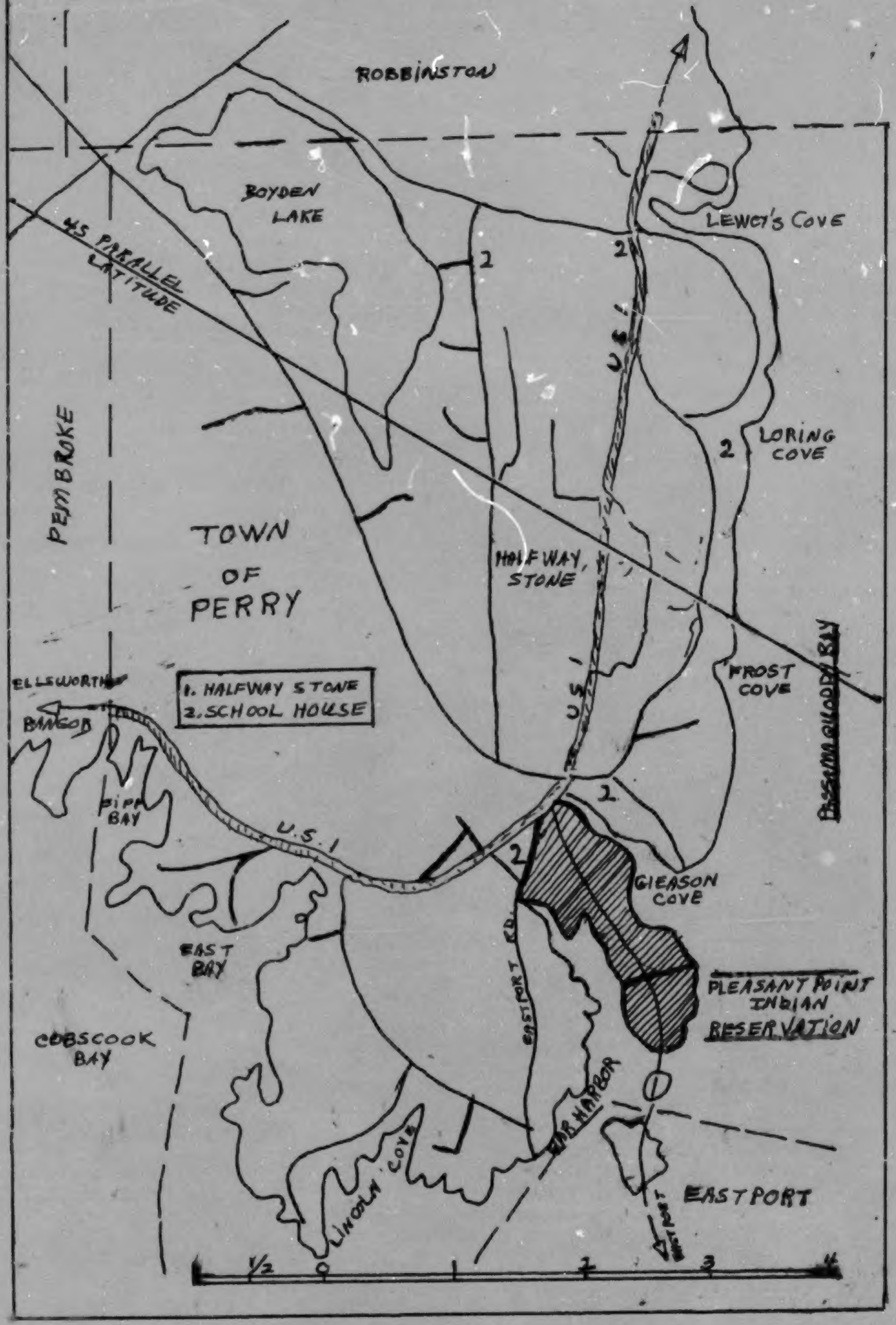
△ = ASSOCIATION OF AROOSTOOK INDIANS

⊕ = PENOBSCOT RESERVATION

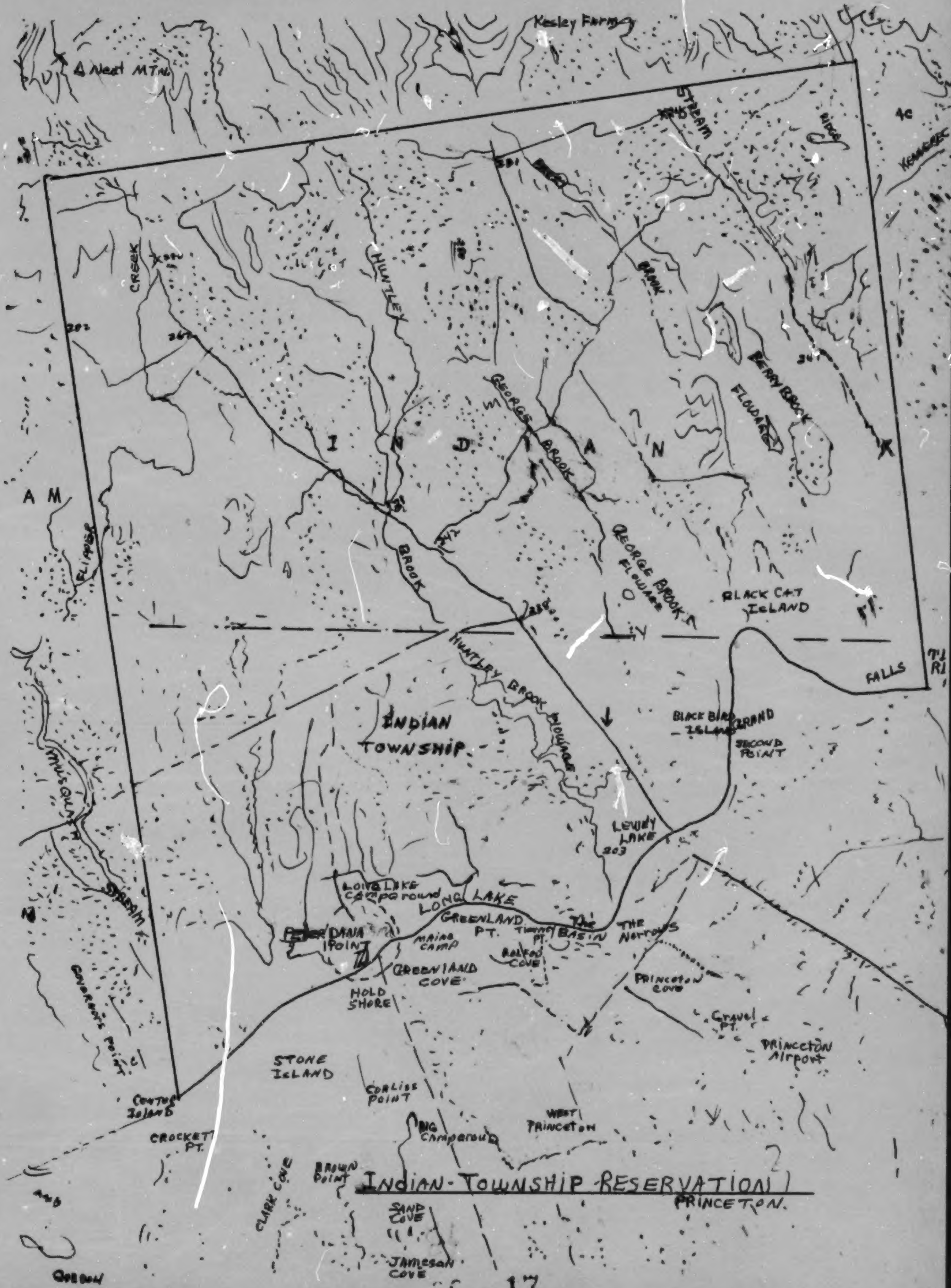
⊠ = PASSAMAQUODDY RESERVATIONS

1. Indian Township
2. Pleasant Point

4h



Pleasant Point Reservation



INDIAN-TOWNSHIP RESERVATION

PRINCETON.

a severe problem, received attention for the first time in 1972. Perhaps some of the best potential workers are working--somewhere else. But all indications are that large numbers of Passamaquoddy will return when economic development on the reservations takes hold.

Physical Setting

Pleasant Point reservation, the second most easterly point in the United States, faces Passamaquoddy Bay, a large bay that has some of the highest tides in the world. Ocean products are still important at this reservation, although their harvesting is no longer a big part of the economy. The reservation is curiously treeless and has been so for many years; presumably, existing trees were long ago used for firewood. Although the overall setting is magnificent, the reservation itself looks rather barren. Route 1, a main approach to the Maritime Provinces and the main coastal route in the state, borders the reservation. Because of this, Pleasant Point is potentially a good tourist stop, but is so far undeveloped as such.

Very different in scenery and character is Indian Township, 50 miles inland. This is a heavily wooded area of spruce, fir, and tamarack, with second growth beech, birch, and maple. There are streams of enviable purity, several large fresh water lakes, and a shoreline estimated at about 100 miles, which is almost entirely undeveloped. Because of its natural beauty, the reservation would be an ideal area for fishing, hunting, camping, and winter sports. It is completely undeveloped along these lines, except for a small but successful camping area.

Relationship to State and Federal Government

The Passamaquoddy have never been under the Bureau of Indian Affairs, although currently they are lobbying to be so designated. They are not eligible in their present status for any of the services of the BIA, although occasionally a student has attended a BIA school.

When Maine was a Province of Massachusetts, the Passamaquoddy were under this jurisdiction. At the separation of the two states in 1820 Maine agreed to assume the treaty obligations to the Indians formerly held by Massachusetts. The tribe had already been reduced to little more than its present holdings. Maine has not been a good protector but has nibbled away steadily at reservation lands, and has even assumed a fictional ownership of those lands. Essentially, these are the bases of an upcoming lawsuit, and the source of most conflicts between the Indians and the state.

Maine has never been certain what to do about its Indians, who were supposed to "vanish" but never did. They have been under the state's Governor and Council, and the departments of Forestry, Wildlife, and Health and Welfare. Finally, because of Indian pressure, a State Department of Indian Affairs was formed in the 1960's to deal with the Passamaquoddy Tribe and Penobscots, who are also on a state reservation. Although this was the first such state department in the country, Maine has been negligent about most other things pertaining to Indians. For example, Maine Indian people were among the last in the nation to receive the vote in national elections (1953); they received the vote in state elections that same year. In 1967 the reservations were apportioned into representative class districts and Maine Indians could then vote for a district State Representative.

Passamaquoddy pay all state taxes except individual property tax. Because some disputed reservation lots presently in the hands of white "owners" are taxed, one could say a property tax, of sorts, is actually levied also. Indians also pay federal income taxes. They can be drafted, yet because of the uncertain ownership of the land, cannot receive Veterans Administration or bank loans while residing on the reservation. This has hindered home improvements and the development of small businesses. Maine enforces all state laws on the reservations, must approve any changes in the operation of tribal government, and sends a state representative to conduct the biennial secret ballot elections on the reservations. (It does not, however, interfere with selection of candidates.) Finally, since at least 1823, there has been a tribal representative to the Maine legislature from both the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes. The practice may go back as far as the Revolution. Until around 1941 they were seated and could speak on the house floor. Today they are neither able to be seated, nor speak, nor vote, but are there mainly to inform the tribes of legislative action pertaining to Indians.

In recent years the Passamaquoddy's ties with the federal government have been increasing, through "War On Poverty" programs of various sorts, through "Indian Desks" but most often simply as poor people (most Washington "Indian Desks" are set up to deal with federal Indians only). These programs represent a major historical change in Passamaquoddy culture and government relations.

Social Institutions through Time

Kinship Alliance

The kinship system of the Passamaquoddy in early historic times seems to have been a matrilineal clanship--possibly with male subchiefs on each riverine district--and a head chief from a ruling clan over all. But in any consideration of early kinship forms one has to take into account the enormous devastation of disease; for wave upon wave of new European diseases swept the Eastern tribes, destroying existing social systems. Some of the fragmentary aspects of later Indian communities resulted most certainly from this unceasing loss of personnel. Indeed, it is only in the last three generations that there has been anything like a population increase, and that very small. The very early accounts give the impression of large populations with elaborate well-regulated clan systems. Each little tributary of any major river in the northeast had at least one village with a subchief-and there are innumerable rivers and tributaries in New England. The most recent studies of aboriginal American populations are turning up much larger population statistics than were ever suspected before, and this geographical area seems to substantiate the new larger estimates.

At any rate, by the 1600's several epidemics are known to have swept through the Eastern tribes. The beginning of the fur trade coincided with the first drastic declines in population; it was probably at this time that family hunting territories became more firmly established, with small groups fanning out over a large area to hunt and trap in the winter. These groups were probably no longer true clans, which by the usual definition are coalitions of related family lineages descended from a real or mythical common ancestor. Although these family hunting groups seem to have continued the use of clan names and symbols, by the 1600's they were far reduced from being true clans.

Today many people still remember their former clan names, but these have no real significance except as joking material or as glimpses into an unfathomed past history. Even so, kinship alliance is of prime importance. Today the kinship system is made up of lineages; that is, nuclear families or extended families related through one line of remembered ancestors. In most cases, Passamaquoddy lineages today seem to be patrilineal, but there are some examples, too, of strong lineage groups associated through a female line. Perhaps a merging of systems is at work here. People tend to be fiercely loyal to their lineage and will defend another member of it without hesitation. Lineages often vote as a block in an election, and there is competition and jealousy between groups. Factionalism falls along lineage lines as well, so that any program which ignores these social facts, as most do, is headed for trouble. At each Passamaquoddy reservation there are several strong lineages, and several lesser ones which usually side with one or another of the more powerful or influential groups. These smaller groups are wooed in various ways, especially at election time, for they, like independents in a two-party system, can determine the outcome of a political encounter.

Lineage members do not usually marry one another; those who do are said to be "just like dogs." Linguists and anthropologists have sometimes concluded that cross-cousin marriage was preferred in this area, because the language includes a special terminology for that relationship, and another for parallel cousins. Other evidence may refute such a conclusion, for even third cousin marriage is considered disgusting today and no distinction is made between the two types of cousin. Those who accept the cross-cousin marriage theory have proposed that the church has successfully eliminated the custom, but tribal practice today far exceeds the church's strictest dictates on cousin marriage. Restrictions include anyone of the known lineage. This restriction, incidentally, is not easily accomplished in a small population, and it drastically limits the choice of a marriage partner.

Sex Roles

In former times the man provided the food, while the woman performed the rest of the work. Economic hardship and Aid to Dependent Children have undermined the man's role, which in many cases is one of bravado more than of economic usefulness. Women have a peculiar position in the culture, for while they are the backbone of the community, often influencing the political attitudes of their family and may also be the family's main breadwinner, yet they are frequently treated rather badly by their husbands, some of whom think it manly to be unfaithful, and, in public if not in private, "look down on" women. It is difficult to assess how much of this behavior is based on custom, and how much reflects the beleaguered Passamaquoddy male's attempt to prove his manhood in a world that offers neither traditional nor modern outlets. Males who succeed economically display far less of the Passamaquoddy machismo syndrome than do the others, which may indicate that improved economic conditions on the reservation would lead to more stable family relationships.

Age

To an outsider, the lack of social distinction between age groups is striking. Children are treated as small adults and are rather self-sufficient at an early age. Sexual encounters occur across a much wider span of ages than is normally true in a white community,, and the ideal is not necessarily a situation in which the woman is younger than the man.

The respect traditionally accorded the elderly by Indians seems to be dying fast, particularly among teenagers and their younger siblings. This conceivably might have something to do with absorbing American's Youth-Culture attitudes over television; in any case, there are not many old people to respect, as few live to a ripe old age.

In the political realm, very few people under 25 are involved in tribal politics except at voting time, and they neither attend nor show much interest in tribal council meetings. Political interest seems to increase when one marries, however. Once again, it is not easy to assign this present pattern to former custom, although it may be custom. Until recent years, very few council meetings were held (as there was little to decide), but today there are meetings at least once a week. The sophistication of council members in dealing with various programs, proposals, and miscellaneous red-tape has increased vastly over the last 15 years. Perhaps younger people simply feel intimidated by the complexity of some of these meetings. Or perhaps older tribal members feel they are too young to participate. In any case, they are conspicuously absent from important tribal decision-making situations, and tend to finally become involved when they are already raising families.

Social Class

There are no distinct social classes on the reservation. Indeed, it is a community of equals, and the social pressure to equalize everyone is intense. Some individuals may have more prestige than others, and one lineage may have more prestigious individuals than another; but prestige has its price, for trying to "better oneself" is resented and opposed in every possible way. As one old Passamaquoddy man said, "Indians are funny people; they hate to see another Indian get ahead." The idea seems to fit well into the concept of "limited good"; that is, "more for you is less for me." In former times, this homily was probably actually true; but today the idea is a major stumbling block in economic development programs, for unless the whole standard of living of the tribe can be uplifted at once, there will be bitter resentment and outright attempts to thwart those who succeed over others.

The person with great prestige, particularly a leader, is one who does a lot for the community without necessarily gaining something thereby himself. He must be exemplary in every way, unstinting in his day-to-day efforts for the tribe, and above all, unselfish with his money, his car, and his time. He must help not only his lineage and its affiliates, but opposing lineages (who will not vote for him later in any case). If he does all this, and "gets ahead" as well, he will be the object of gossip and the search for his flaws will be unrelenting. If he works off the reservation he will not be as popular as he would be if he worked on the reservation for the tribe. (OEO programs have made this latter a real possibility for the first time in centuries.)

Tribal Government

There appears to be no solid evidence for the mode of tribal government at the time of white contact, but there is reason to think that it has not altered very much except for the fact that population decrease has perhaps made for fewer chiefs.

During the period that is known, particularly the early reservation period of about 150 years ago, the Passamaquoddy had one chief, lieutenant-chief, and twelve counselors, one of whom was called (by whites, at least) "Captain." The captain presided over the council. The council and the lieutenant-chief were appointed by the chief, who in turn was elected by the tribe--but elected from only one lineage, the Neptune family.

Maine, following Massachusetts's example, allowed one tribal representative to the legislature from both the Penobscot and the Passamaquoddy tribes. They could speak, and be seated on the floor of the legislature (but today cannot). They serve mainly as lobbyists and as sources of information for the tribe. This position was and is elective by the whole tribe.

In the middle 1800's, the so-called "War of the Flags" occurred at Pleasant Point reservation, then the seat of tribal government. The events leading up to this "war" are very complex, and related to similar events which occurred among the Penobscots. Briefly, however, life-chief John Francis Neptune was progressive for education, and the faction that did not go along with these ideas elected to follow the more conservative lieutenant-governor, Newell Neptune. When either group set up a liberty pole, symbolic of chiefship, the other would soon chop it down! The skirmishing went on for some time, until finally lieutenant-governor Newell Neptune and his followers split off, moving eventually to Indian Township reservation. The state then intervened and convinced the tribe to have a chief and lieutenant-chief of equal rank at each reservation, to divide the council in two (six at each place) and to elect the legislative representatives alternately every two years from each reservation. The warring factions made a solemn treaty of peace with one another, agreeing to the arrangement, and vowing eternal brotherhood henceforth.

Now, today, each reservation elects a chief (more often called a "governor" now) and a lieutenant-governor every two years. The appointment is no longer for life but for a two-year term, and it is no longer from one particular lineage, for anyone can be nominated. Until 1959 the chiefs still appointed their own councils, but the tribe requested the legislature to make the council elective as well. Thus, all official posts today are elective. The elections are held in September, and eligibility to vote is the same as that for other citizens of the state. In addition, voters must be on the census, which is taken annually just before election time. Off-reservation members usually do not vote, but this situation was recently challenged. Now if the tribal member returns to the reservation on election day, he may vote.

A council meeting may be called only by the chief, although he can appoint someone else, usually the lieutenant-governor, to conduct a meeting in his absence. Meetings are called as needed, rather than by a schedule, and are usually held at night. The council is considered representative of the tribe, and it votes on issues in the tribe's behalf. The chief may vote to break a tie, otherwise, he has no vote. The chief is definitely the servant of the people, and his power lies in his ability to interpret, to explain, and to point out the right path in a given situation to the council, who then may or may not do as he suggests. On matters that concern the tribe as a whole, joint council meetings with members of both reservation councils take place. They are held alternately at each reservation, and the host chief presides over the meeting. There has been a profound increase in joint tribal council meetings in the last decade, and relations between the two communities have improved greatly as a result.

Meetings of the council are usually open to tribal members or to invited outsiders. Although an agenda is usually followed, at the close of the meeting anyone may bring up an issue not on the agenda. Meetings were formerly conducted in the Passamaquoddy language and occasionally still are, but the influx of outsiders who are concerned with various programs has resulted in a much more frequent use of English at the meetings.

The tribal council also serves the reservation in other capacities, such as appointing constables, replacing an officer, and so forth. It is also the Community Action Program Board of Directors and the overall Economic Development Committee on each reservation.

Factions and Conflict Resolution

Factionalism is a real problem, and usually issues are secondary to basic conflicts among certain lineage groups, each of which usually has members on the tribal council. However, these factional differences seem to be better controlled than formerly and do not slow down tribal political processes as much as they used to. Perhaps this is because many of the issues the council now deals with are about new programs that are beneficial to everyone.

But when problems do arise, how are they solved? If the grievance concerns an individual (usually a leader or director of some program), a council member or ordinary citizen will air his complaint at a council meeting. If he has misunderstood something, perhaps his complaint will be explained away. If not, he does not say, "I think so-and-so should change his tactics"; instead, he usually stops speaking after making his complaint. The offender knows what he is supposed to do, and he is given a chance to improve; if he doesn't, the next time he might be warned in a roundabout way. If his misbehavior persists, the warnings get stronger. But rarely is anyone displaced from his position, unless actual funding of a program is endangered seriously by his actions. Even then he is given every possible chance to mend his ways. It is a terrible ordeal for all concerned when at last someone has to be removed from his post. Confrontation is not part of the Passamaquoddy life style!

If the issue is broad and non-personal, most people trust the tribal leader, if he is capable. The leader goes to individuals separately, particularly to family heads and council members, and tries to explain the issues. If he does this, people will "think about it." This is a good sign, because if they don't "think about it", the answer is probably "no." (White outsiders who attempt to rush important decisions through the council often get a quick "yes", which is really a "no" without confrontation!) If there is no strong leader when an important tribal decision is pending, the people might postpone meetings and a decision until the incompetent man is voted out--which could take two years.

With the new programs, however, the council has learned to take two or three meetings, instead of four or five months, to make a decision. They have stopped delaying decisions, particularly policy decisions, and have learned to work together increasingly well. The two reservations are in greater harmony, and the increased meetings and public interest have acted as a sort of tribal group therapy, providing an outlet for complaints besides malicious gossip. There is now a more open atmosphere.

Religion and the Supernatural World

Little is known of the "old religion," for the Indians in Maine have been Catholics for more than 300 years. Yet some of the old beliefs persist side by side with Christian ones and, more often than not, go unnoticed by the clergy.

The religious activities today are primarily those of the Catholic Church, although there is a new, as yet unassessable influence of the Baha'i Faith, which teaches brotherhood, world government, equality of the sexes, and the future importance of Indians in world and spiritual affairs. (This faith so far has only six or seven adherents, but among them are some of the more notable and intelligent members of the tribe. It will be interesting to see how this develops in the future.)

The Catholic patron saint of most Maine and Maritime Indians is St. Anne, whose special province it is to intercede in cases of illness. This selection may have been made because the tribes of the area were suffering greatly from European diseases at the time of the early conversions. Certainly conversion was speeded up by the fact that Indian doctors were inexplicably unable to help the people against smallpox, while Europeans, who were Christian, did not suffer as much in the epidemics. Today there is a Mission of St. Anne on each Passamaquoddy reservation, with a resident priest and teaching nuns. Baptisms, weddings, and funerals generally are held at a person's home reservation. Wakes take place in the home of a near relative and last for three days and nights, during which time someone is always in attendance to keep the soul company before it departs from the mouth.

Passamaquoddy do not really believe in purgatory, but on the other hand never contradict the priest about this. They believe (with some justification) that hell is here on earth and that a person is repaid here, in his heart or by misfortune, for his transgressions against others. Hell is also not being admitted to heaven; but it is not the fire-and-brimstone place the church has taught about. Professional mourners are often called in to sing at the wake and at the burial service, and the old Indian dirges have an eerie, ineffably sad tone one never forgets. The mourners are paid with either food or non-alcoholic drink.

Other aspects of an older religion appear here and there; for example, many of the traditional dances are essentially religious in nature. In one, a pipe is offered to the four sacred directions; in another (the Green Corn Dance), the dance is actually a prayer for earthly fertility. Certain supernaturally endowed individuals still can dream or predict future events rather accurately; others can "will" events--particularly an injury or death, but this is considered an abuse of power. Some have a power to heal, which is simply bestowed upon them unbidden at birth.

These special powers are usually manifest in childhood, so that even if they are not mentioned or used, people know who possesses them. Good leaders are thought to have special powers (and indeed they need them.) The approach of death or danger to oneself or someone close is often signaled by the cry of "Sqwowtemos" (Swamp Woman) or other stereotyped signal, or in more individualistic ways. (Outsiders soon learn not to scoff at this ability, for the premonitions are usually correct.) Purposeful dreaming aimed at solving problems is another typically Passamaquoddy approach to life. One man told his successful son, "If you ever stop being able to dream, you won't amount to anything." Students of psychocybernetics (programming one's own computer to solve problems) might well look into this purposeful dreaming. It seems to work.

Finally, there are many non-human beings on the reservations, beings seen only by Indians or those with some Indian blood. There are at least two kinds of "little people," one from the shores and one from the forests, as well as an ill-tempered giant who prowls occasionally at night and has been seen as recently as two summers ago. These same beings, mentioned by Lescarbot in his 1604 account, affect social behavior, mostly in the religious realm. One group of little people acts in conjunction with the Catholic church, even though the church probably doesn't know they exist. Thus, someone tried to steal the sacred wine, but the little people chased him out; when a dance was held during Lent, little people appeared, showed their disapproval, and the dance broke up. They do not seem to enter into day-to-day affairs, political events, or the new programs, but it is difficult to predict their future activities. Sadly, the most helpful little people, who taught the first Passamaquoddy all the good and useful things by which to live, sailed away about ten years ago in their stone canoes, saying someone more powerful was around; they would return with their goodness only when people again believed in them and needed them.

Education

The formal education of the Passamaquoddy began in the early French missions, but education was not the missionaries' main intent, and instruction was spotty; even after the fall of Quebec, however, missions were still the primary source of formal education for the Indians. After the education debates of the early 1800's, the few Protestants who attempted to teach on the reservation were replaced with Catholic priests and teachers. This situation has continued until fairly recently.

Formerly the schools were open only three months a year, for when the weather turned cold the teaching nuns departed to heated schoolrooms elsewhere. (People who are today in their forties and fifties had this sort of education.) Given these circumstances and the distance to high school, very few Indians attended secondary schools at all until recently. About 25 years ago, heating facilities were put in convents and schools, and instruction lasted through the winter. Even so, instruction started later than at other schools, to allow children to accompany their parents on the fall potato harvest in Aroostook County.

The greatest advances in Maine Indian education have come about since 1965, when responsibility for Indian schools was turned over to the State Department of Education, and a specialist in Indian Education was hired. The school year was standardized to agree with that of other state-run schools, and the teaching nuns were required to be certified by the state. Because there were not always enough certified nuns, young lay teachers were sometimes hired, representing a radical change in school policy. (To many, this move was a good thing; but some of the more conservative element see it as a treat to Maine Indians' rights to have religious teachers.)

Adult education programs were introduced, and adult members of the community were incorporated into the grammar achools as teachers' aides and craft teachers. At about the same time, the legislature passed an act creating Indian school boards on each reservation--at first appointed, but now elected. The school boards are a radical departure from past procedure and potentially weaken ties to the church, for now the people have the power not to renew contracts of teachers they don't like--including nuns. The church supported the creation of the boards, but one wonders if some of the eventualities of this new arrangement were foreseen. Indians themselves have not yet realized the power the boards give them, and to some extent are still accepting edicts handed down from "authorities." This, too, will change with time and experience, for in this realm as in so many others on the reservations today, the chance to run their own lives is such a new thing that the people scarcely know where to begin.

Three years ago, after an extensive hassle with the state goverment, a new school was built on each reservation, replacing the dilapidated buildings that had served the communities for years. The planning, construction, and equipping was fraught with setbacks and contracting chicanery, but eventually good end-products emerged, virtual monuments to perserverence!

In 1972 a first try at bilingual education was made at Indian Township, and it included the teaching of Passamaquoddy history in the schools. The great handicap here is that so little of the history is recorded in one place that basic research must be done. Also, the Passamaquoddy language is not written and is still the object of linquistic research. But the new program is a start, and it aims at making students more facile in both English and Passamaquoddy; a worthy task where many people lack skills in both languages.

A Head Start Program seems to be working well, and a hot lunch program is another innovation of great importance. Many adults who dropped out of high school (the dropout rate has been approximately 99.5 percent) have recently earned high school equivalency diplomas. Many young people are being sent to boarding high schools throughout the state, where they seem to fare better than in the local high schools, where prejudice is intense.

Upward Bound programs have lured a few Passamaquoddy to college, and this trend is increasing. Many colleges throughout the state are now offering special financial aid and tutoring to Indian students, and in the summer of '72 a conference of Indians and white educators dealt with problems specific to Indian students attempting college.

In every way, it seems, the climate has improved on the Passamaquoddy educational scene. Proof is still to be demonstrated in the next few years, when grammar school children of today reach the point of decision on whether to drop out or stay in school. At present, there is still much to be done to appeal to students in the Indian community, but things can only get better than they were in the past.

Several years back, all of these innovations were threatened when the schools were declared segregated and ordered closed, and federal funds were given to the nearby white town to build a larger integrated school. The Passamaquoddy, incensed at this, wondered why the integrated school couldn't be on the reservation, which is actually most central to the attending towns; they pointed out that their schools were already open to anyone who wanted to attend. The Civil Rights Commission was sent to the scene by the state governor, and what it saw was a racially integrated group of blue-eyed blond children, side by side with dark-eyed black-haired children. Despite the genetics of the situation, however, the fair children are just as Indian in culture, language, and deed as the others and are fully accepted as Indian by both Indian and white communities. But the schools were not closed, and it is undoubtedly in the best interests of the children that it turned out this way.

Treaty Rights and Welfare

Since 1794 the Indian Agent has been a Passamaquoddy fact of life; indeed, for many he was the most important fact. The agent dispensed grocery orders, occasional clothing orders, house repair money, and sometimes medical funds to the impoverished Indians of the state. The agent often became a powerful figure among the people, a demi-god with the power to grant or retract critical favors from his needy charges. But he also came to be seen as a natural resource--part of the natural order of things.

Likewise Welfare, introduced in the thirties, came to be thought of as a natural resource. Nothing but desperation was required to get welfare--and nothing was required in return but a suitable gratitude, for there was no work one could do to pay it off if one wanted to. Aid to Dependent Children came later, but immediately it fell into the same category as the agent and welfare, and in addition it worked to unloosen family ties; the presence of a man in the house is enough to get ones' Mother's Aid cut off, and under these conditions a nonproductive husband is not welcome in the maternal home. Thus, ADC may have done more harm than good in the long run.

Now that there are other sources of income on the reservations, primarily through federal programs, the agent no longer has his grip on the people, and ADC doesn't break up as many homes. But nearly three hundred years of being given "handouts," even though they were necessary, has resulted in many Passamaquoddy seeing the new federal programs as merely another fortuitous kind of natural resource. As Commissioner Stevens says, "They've been hand fed for centuries, but it's not been an easy life for them--it's been a hell of a life, a demoralizing life."

The self-help philosophy behind the federal programs is understood in Washington and by a few Passamaquoddy leaders, but is not understood by the majority of the Indian people. Even a good Passamaquoddy leader or director may not be able to get the people to work effectively in his program, if they see that people in another program are getting paid for doing nothing. The cultural tabu on criticism and direct confrontation inhibits a program director from "giving people hell" if they don't perform, and "bossiness" is not appreciated and does not get results. Therefore, people unfortunately often try to get into the program that requires the least of them, and the director who most pleases the people and least worries about Washington is the most popular. If a director should insist that a person work or not be paid, the person can quit and go to the agent for a grocery order, claiming that he's been laid off. Conscientious Passamaquoddy workers are soon demoralized by being turned into errand boys for people who don't work, and soon give in to the non-work ethic themselves.

Confounding all this is the fact that federal programs are frequently defunded, altered, or have their guidelines changed, so that there is little sense of continuity, from the people's point of view. Inevitably the programs are seen as temporary natural resources too--plums ripe to be picked while the season lasts.

In sum, then, the Indian agent became a social institution, and welfare and ADC followed suit when they were introduced--even though all these programs were necessary because of the extreme poverty of the area. Now it appears that some of the federally funded programs are in danger of going the same way simply out of habit, and because the grass-roots people have lived hand-to-mouth for so long it is nearly impossible to think of any day but the present one.

The leaders, and increasingly the people who have served on the tribal councils, understand the government's ideals of self-sufficiency and home-based economic development at which the programs are aimed. But in order to be re-elected, leaders and council members must in some measure also conform to the ideals of the community--ideals that include not telling another what to do, non-confrontation, and unselfishly helping others. ("Unselfishly helping others" often means ignoring program guidelines as to who is eligible for hiring.)

It is clear that federal programs must be more closely geared to both present values of the community and the past situation of the people to be really effective, and in addition the programs must include methods for re-educating the grass-roots element. A partial solution might be a series of entertaining teaching films be shown periodically throughout the funded year of any program, films that reiterate the point of the program, the proper role of the director and the workers, and how the program has worked successfully in Indian communities elsewhere. The Passamaquoddy people previously have known few life alternatives, and it is not possible for them to choose an intelligent path towards self-help unless they are made aware, in a most basic way, that these programs do actually offer the choice of self-determination. Books and brochures certainly are not the answer, as many people are functionally illiterate, while the rest have little interest in the printed word. In a place where entertainment is almost nil, however, people would attend films, particularly if they concerned other Indians, in whom they are keenly interested.

Overall Organization of the Community

Of the institutions mentioned previously by far the most important in the community are kinship, tribal government, and the new federal programs. The importance of education is increasing, and it may become another stressed institution in a generation or so, particularly if the present trend towards Indian involvement in the creation and administration of program continues.

Although the role of the Catholic church was very important in the past, it seems to have lost some of its importance in recent years. Yet, the personalities of church workers on the reservations have a great deal to do with church attendance and attitude and recently some young, non-patronizing, and imaginative church people have come onto the two reserves. If this more liberal trend continues, it may bring about a resurgence of church involvement.

In/Out Migration and Seasonal Patterns

At the present time more than half the tribe lives off the reservations. Sometimes this is by choice, but more often it is because of the poor economic and living conditions on reservations. When housing and jobs improve, many of these people will return; indeed, many have returned already in the wake of improvements or promised improvements.

It is sometimes difficult for non-Indians to understand that most Passamaquoddy would rather make the reservation livable and reside there than "make it" in the outside world and live off the reservation. For on the reservation there is a sense of continuity, community, and belonging that many alienated Americans might well envy. There is also that fundamental difference between Indians and other groups in America; that they were here first. The bright dreams of the immigrants and their descendants were not Indian dreams, and the "mainstream" holds no charms for most of them. Their basic values and orientations are not European, either, and do not mesh easily with those of most Americans.

There is also an almost abstract sense of loss: of land, of culture, and of self-sufficiency. This submerged sadness and anger expresses itself most strongly in the determination to hold onto whatever is left, particularly the land base that makes any cultural continuity for Indians possible. This continuity is real, not illusory, for the land the Passamaquoddy inhabit was inhabited by their ancestors thousands of years ago, even though its area is now much less extensive. Here they can be themselves, speak their own language, and see the graves of their ancestors. Though reservations are rife with every sort of problem, they are also home in the deepest possible sense. In spite of these home ties, the Passamaquoddy migratory behavior of old is still apparent. Until recently, entire families would pick up to go blueberry raking, potato picking, or on jaunts to visit relatives in Canada. Young men, particularly, still go to the larger cities in southern New England to work for a winter or a year or two, or even several decades but most ultimately return. The increase of opportunity on the reservations, however, has sharply reduced the number of people who go as migratory workers to the seasonal harvest. Part of the motivation in the past was to have a good time and see other Indians, but now there are more cars available and people can simply drive to Canada to see their friends and relatives--and they do. There is still a good deal of traveling about, but as more jobs open up on the reservation, the traveling is less and less for economic gain, and more and more for sociability.

Indian Identity

The question of social identity is currently undergoing changes in the direction of a stronger Indian identity and a greater pride in the Passamaquoddy background. This has resulted from the awakening of America to Indians, the considerable successes of the Passamaquoddy since the 1960's, and the emphasis currently being given Indian culture in the schools and throughout the Maine reservations in general.

Not long ago, if a Passamaquoddy could pass for white in the cities, he might well do so. Today he more usually says, "I'm an Indian and proud of it." Those who "cop out" on their identity are looked down on by other Passamaquoddy and are not very welcome on the reservation. And those who play at being Indian, but in reality are ashamed of their people, are derisively called "Radishes" or "Apples"-red on the outside, white on the inside!

Relationships to the Outside World

The worst prejudice most Passamaquoddies face emanates from nearby towns. For example, two barbershops in Princeton, outside of Indian Township, chose to close down rather than serve Indians. In Perry, close to the Pleasant Point reservation, anti-Indian sentiment is not as vehement, but the commercial town of Eastport makes up for this lack.

Indians must trade in Princeton and Eastport for the reservations have no real stores. The Indian agent does not deal out money, but calls a store with an "order," which makes more trouble for the merchant, who grumbles even though he is getting business. The other white people of the area (usually poor themselves) see Indians "getting something for nothing," which increases local resentment. The grocery and clothing orders, even though they are meager and irregular give the impression that Indians don't have to work to live.

The local belief that Indians don't have to work but receive everything from the Indian agent, makes it difficult to find a job in neighboring white communities. The attitude of white employers often seems to be, "What do you want a job for, when you guys don't have to work, but can just lay around the lake and drink beer?"

The developments of the past 15 years have made local townsmen more resentful than ever, although they have often failed to apply for federal programs available to them as well. Several years ago the Passamaquoddy at Indian Township invited Princeton to submit a joint water treatment proposal to EDA, but the town refused. Later, when faced with deadline and a state fine if they failed to clean up pollution in Lewey's Lake (which borders both Princeton and one of the settlements of Indian Township) Princeton asked to be included in the Passamaquoddy's project, which had been in planning stages for several years. It was then too late, and Princeton must now have a separate project. Some people in the nearby towns are friendly to Indians, of course, and lately there have been many more marriages between Indians and whites from contiguous communities; but in general, relations between the group are uneasy and sometimes even hostile. The Indian rule of thumb is that the farther away you get from the reservation, the better you'll be received.

Washington County

Washington County, where both Passamaquoddy reservations are located, is the poorest county in the New England States, it has more emigrants than immigrants and has been going downhill ever since the wooden shipbuilding industry of the district declined, more than a century ago. Some relief was afforded by the sardine and other fishing enterprises, but for various reasons fishing in the area is no longer what it was. The educational level of most county residents is quite low, and the few college graduates usually go elsewhere, as there is little employment for them in the county. The general downward trend shows in attitudes and in a generalized apathy that is not too different from that encountered on the reservations.

The Indian communities are intimately tied up with the region's history, but otherwise they have little to do with the county. Until two years ago the communities were a delegate agency of the Washington County Community Action Agency, but they managed to separate themselves and become independently funded after making a stand to the OEO. The reasons for separation were that ordinary regulations did not apply on the reservation and were causing more harm than good, and that the reservations could not seem to get on well with the Washington County Agency or the County Commissioners. The separation seems to have benefited reservation communities. At present, the Passamaquoddy have no particular ties to the county, but they share its economic, educational and social deprivation.

The State of Maine

The relationship of the Passamaquoddy to the State of Maine and its historical genesis has been detailed elsewhere. At the present time the state deals with on-reservation Indians through its Department of Indian Affairs, which is headed by a former Passamaquoddy chief. Funds for the department are granted bi-annually by the state legislature, which has consistently granted less than is needed to operate the program. This is in part due to the poor economic status of the state.

Since Maine Indians are not eligible for Indian Public Health Act Funds received by federal Indians, much of the budget of Indian Affairs in Maine goes towards health care. (Most such care is on an emergency rather than a preventive basis, and health is a major problem on the reservations as it is in Washington County in general). Much of the rest of the budget goes for grocery orders, for occasional clothing orders; for children, for house repair--and, of course, staff salaries. In all, the expenditure per capita does not exceed around $350, and the largest part of this goes towards medical costs. Actual assistance for food and clothing is really very small; certainly, it is not enough to live on.

Most state laws are in force on the reservation, and any local variances have to be approved by state resolutions or acts. The state is trustee of the reservation land, but in the past has assumed an ownership attitude. A gratifying change in the official attitude of Maine, has occurred recently, however, particularly through Governor Curtis, who has proven to be a friend of the Passamaquoddy people. He has openly favored the Passamaquoddy winning their land suit against the state, urging the legislature that it amicably right the old wrongs. His comments set off a chain reaction in which sentiments favorable to the Passamaquoddy were also voiced by Senators Smith and Muskie, soon followed by Congressmen Kyros and Hathaway. This official political stance of both parties marks a decided break with the past.

The Federal Government

Until the new federal programs came on the reservations, the federal government had almost no contact with this tribe, except for the occasional child who was sent to a government Indian boarding school. (The total number has probably not exceeded ten.) This lack of concern of the federal government is in direct contradiction to the promises made the tribe on the eve of the Revolution and shortly after the Revolution, in which the new American Government promised to always regard the tribe "as brothers and children, under the fatherly care of the United States, with every right and privilege . . . "Further, it also conflicts with the Constitution, which states that only the federal government can make treaties with or manipulate lands of Indians residing within its borders." On this basis the Passamaquoddy sought federal recognition in 1972, for their treaty dates from 1794, which was after this Constitutional restriction was made. Part of the purpose of seeking recognition from the government is to gain various services, particularly those related to education and health, that federal Indians receive; it is also to be in a position to coerce the Department of the Interior and the Justice Department to sue the

State of Maine in the behalf of the Passamaquoddy Tribe in the land claims case, under the Indian Land Claims Act. Although the ability to sue under this act ended in 1972, the Passamaquoddy claimed that they were never notified when the act went into effect, partly as a result of their not being federal Indians, and that they were thus denied due process.

When these applications were made, the Bureau of Indian Affairs replied that having investigated the matter, they deemed that the Passamaquoddy were entitled to federal recognition. The Departments of Justice and the Interior failed even to respond, even though repeatedly requested to do so. While they dallied, the time limitation of the Claims Act drew ever nearer. At this point, the tribe brought suit against the two departments, charging that their case was being jeopardized by inaction. A federal court judge in Maine heard the case and ordered the two departments to state whether or not they would take the case, and if not, why not. The departments stated they would not take the case, citing an 1800's Maine ruling that the Passamaquoddy Tribe no longer existed! At least 60 Passamaquoddy were in the courtroom at the time, so the judge could only smile and rule that the two departments of the government must make suit in the Passamaquoddy behalf, appointing the tribal lawyers as monitors to assure that the case is fairly handled. This ruling set a precedent in that a federal judge ordered federal departments to make suit in behalf of a third party; it also set precedent in that the tribe has been dealt with fairly in a matter concerning land.

One might ask why these two federal departments apparently wanted to see this case lost? Undoubtedly it is because the Passamaquoddy case may well set an expensive precedent for other neglected Eastern tribes. A close examination of actual (not BIA) population figures shows there are about as many off-reservation or non-reservation Indians as there are federal Indians, many of them eastern tribal remnants. If these groups come to realize that they have ungranted rights and that their treaties are worth something, a very expensive can of worms is thereby opened. The federal stalling in this case was unmistakable, and the reasons seem equally clear.

Canadian Maritimes

Relationships of the Passamaquoddy with the Maritime Indians of Canada (Micmacs and Malecites) used to be more political than they are at present, for they were all part of the Wabanaki Confederacy; later they joined with the Iroquois Confederacy to form the Great Council Fire. The Council Fire broke up in the 1800's, but even after that, leaders from all the tribes ratified the election of leaders of single tribes. This eventually turned into a nicety rather than a necessity, and finally the practice was dropped altogether.

Today the relationships between the Maine and Maritime Indians are primarily social, and there is considerable intermarriage, particularly between the Passamaquoddy and the Malecites of the Fredericton and Tobique Reserves in New Brunswick. The Malecite have, on occasion, been cooperative in joining Passamaquoddy confrontations with the state and the Georgia-Pacific Lumber Company, indicating that the old mutual help of the confederacy is not entirely dead. The Malecites are watching the development of the Passamaquoddy land suit with great interest, as some Malecite bands who assisted the Americans in the Revolution are also named in the treaties. There is also a rumor that the Malecites have been inspired to launch their own land suit in Canada in the near future. In the past three years there has been an increase of intertribal action between the Maine tribes and the Micmacs and Malecites in conjunction with TRIBE Inc., (Teaching and Research In Bicultural Education) an international Indian high school for Maine and Maritime Indians that is presently struggling to stay afloat.

Pan-Indian Influences

Pan-Indianism has had negligible impact on the Passamaquoddy so far, primarily because they have not been federal and therefore have not had extensive contact with other tribes. Through new federal programs, some of the leaders have traveled widely and have been influenced by visiting other reservations, but this influence has been more in terms of economic progress that could be made at home rather than of dreams of national Indian unity. Maine Indians have found that, as members of national Indian organizations, they are of almost no interest to their "federalized" brothers, whose main concern is for problems of BIA Indians. This fact has diminished potential Passamaquoddy interest in Pan-Indian movements, and even when the Passamaquoddy do become "federalized" the memory of these slights will probably work against their being active in national movements for some time to come.

Among the Penobscots of Maine, renewed contacts with the St. Regis Mohawks have produced some "Unity Conventions", and shows by the

"White Roots of Peace" have been well received. But many Penobscots are not involved, and few Passamaquoddy have taken part in this new movement. However, a movement to organize the Indians of the Atlantic Seaboard into a unified action group was championed by some Passamaquoddy leaders and their supporters-particularly lawyers, who located funds for a preliminary visit to southern Indians and for setting up a conference of Eastern Indian leaders late in 1972. A powerful ally in this venture was the Native American Rights Fund. Prime goals of the conference were to clarify to Eastern Indians their rights and their eligibility for federal programs, and to form a unified voice. The conferees adopted the name, "Coalition of Eastern Native Americans" (CENA). It is likely that the resulting contacts will be more meaningful to the Passamaquoddy, who share a history similar to other Eastern Indians, than will future contacts with federal Western tribes.

Tentacles of Academia

Finally, there are contacts with Academic America. The Passamaquoddy were overlooked for centuries, no less by academicians (except for a few folklore studies) than by politicians. Today they are getting their full share of attention. Linquists at M.I.T., Harvard, and Wesleyan are working (not always in concert) on the Passamaquoddy language. Several students and an anthropology professor at Wesleyan are working on Passamaquoddy history, as is this writer. Many students from New England colleges have appeared in the last few years to make documentary films and write term papers on Passamaquoddy; the present writer, married into the tribe, came as the first full-time anthropological field worker in 1969.

It seems inevitable that interest in the Passamaquoddy will grow as the tribe continues to become better known and as Eastern Indians are put back on the maps of textbooks that have usually placed them under brief chapters entitled "The Fate of the Eastern Indians" and dismissed them as dead and gone!

Capsule History of the Passamaquoddy

Maine Indians were in contact with Europeans long before the Pilgrims ever heard of Plymouth. The French, English and Basque were actively engaged in fishing in northeastern waters by the mid-1500's, and a French schoolteacher, Andre Thevet, was Maine's first tourist in 1556. Thevet's accounts have been proven to be partly fictional so it is tempting but unsafe to use his material in any historical reconstruction. The earliest accurate account of the Passamaquoddy is from Marc Lescarbot, a chronicler of Champlain, who published his History of New France in 1605. Lescarbot accompanied Champlain on his second trip to the Americas and spent some time with Sieur de Monts in the Passamaquoddy Bay region. Here he describes the "Etchimins" (the French term for the Malecites and Passamaquoddy) as full of fidelity, courage, generosity and humanity . . . and said that the term "savage" hardly applied.

The French camped on St. Croix Island for the winter, having as frequent visitors the Etchimins and some Micmacs, with their great chief Membertou. The French and Indians got on well that winter, as they seem to have all through colonial history, in sharp contrast with the British, who would not eat at the same table with Indians and who enacted miscegination laws, the French freely married into the northern tribes. French missionaries were active from the earliest times among Indians of this area, and within a Protestant enclave, Maine Indians are still primarily Catholic. At the time of Lescarbot, the "Etchimins" seem to have already been active in the fur trade, going seasonally to Port Royal in Nova Scotia to the main trading post of the area. Here they traded beaver, otter, and moose skins, as well as fresh meat, for guns, powder, shot, knives, kettles, flour, and such luxuries as scarves, jewelry, and sack.

Lescarbot in describing the main Etchimin village, said, "The town was a large enclosure upon a rising ground enclosed with trees, great and small, fastened one to another, and within the enclosure were many enclosures, large and small, one of which was as big as a market hall; that wherein they held their feasts, it was somewhat smaller."

Lescarbot noted that Indians of the area did not torture their enemies as some other groups did, that they were inordinately fond of children, that they engaged frequently in dancing and singing, and that "they have no law but that one must not offend another. So they have few quarrels; and if any such thing happens the Sagamore calls a halt, and does justice to him that is offended, giving some blows with a stick to the wrongdoer, or condemning him to make some presents to the other." Lescarbot described hunting, fishing, and agricultural techniques, as well as many other customs.

The Missionaries

The first record of missionary activity among Maine Indians is also from Lescarbot's account, where it is noted that Father Nicholas Aubry was sent along in DeMont's crew to Christianize the natives in the area as part of the obligation of his charter from the King. Apparently there were some Protestant Huguenots on this voyage, who also had some luck at conversion. They did not demand that the Indian leaders give up their plurality of wives, and this made their religion more popular with some. Nevertheless, most of the French who came to Acadia, or New France (roughly, Maine and the Maritimes) were Catholic, and it was this religion which prevailed.

Throughout the first half of the 1600's the Jesuits and Recollet fathers operated several missions throughout Maine. These missions were constantly being obliterated by the English, who were also trying to claim the area, and they were moved or rebuilt innumerable times. Missionaries were also employed at the St. John and Port Royal trading posts, to which Maine Indians repaired with their furs, but these too were demolished by the British. Later the Capuchins were assigned to the southern part of New France (the Passamaquoddy region), and the Jesuits to the north. Unfortunately the Capuchin records are poor and little can be learned of their activity in the area. Soon four Jesuit missions were established on the St. Lawrence, and Maine Indians are known to have frequented them. At these St. Lawrence missions Indians could find food, shelter, and protection from the Iroquois, as well as religion.

The record of Catholic missionaries in the area is generally admirable (and sometimes heroic), and they were not as determined to make Indians into Europeans to save their souls as were the Protestant missionaries in southern New England. The priests were believed by the Indians to have supernatural powers, and it was said that when they had their black robes on, "they could see anywhere." Perhaps this was because their own supernatural men wore robes when practicing their arts.

After the fall of Quebec in 1759 and the consequent defeat of France in the region, the Indians of Acadia were left without their French allies or their priests. In 1764 a Passamaquoddy delegation went to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, to protest land abuses and to request resident priests. The governor refused them a "popish priest," but offered them an Episcopalian minister instead, which the Indians refused. Several other requests were made by them to no avail.

Later, when Maine Indians served in the Revolution, they requested resident priests as part of their compensation. A French navy chaplain was all the Boston authorities could turn up, and he stayed only one summer. Finally, the disgusted Indians sent a delegation to Bishop Carroll in Baltimore, at that time the head of the Catholic Church in the United States. He presented the chiefs with silver medals and applied to the Sulpician Order in France for a priest. The bishop has no funds to pay a clergyman for the Indians, and so an appeal was again made to the Massachusetts court to live up to its treaty obligations (still in existence) to support priests on the reservations. Finally, Massachusetts provided $200 a year for a priest who would serve alternately with the Penobscots and the Passamaquoddy. Later, a church and a priest were supplied to each reservation.

The Fur Trade

Fishing and the fur trade were the principal early industries to both Acadia and colonial New England. The Indians were involved in both, but the fur trade wrought greater changes in their economic and social life than any other development induced by Europeans.

In some ways Indians gained in the bargain, for they had the skills and knowledge to out-hunt and out-trap Europeans, while for their part, Europeans relied heavily on the fur trade returns to support their expeditions and colonies. Fur and coin were interchangeable, and there was strong competition between fur traders and between the French and English. In competitive situations, the Indian temporarily came out on top. As early as 1610 Lescarbot wrote about the high cost of beaver, saying, "Eight years ago for two biscuits or two knives, one had a beaver, while today one must give fifteen or twenty."

There can be no doubt that the economy flowered among the Indians of the northeast in the 1600's, but the ultimate price of the florescence was high. The Indians had tied themselves to the white man and to his guns, powder, and shot, so that ultimately Indians had to deal with Europeans to survive. They also were forced to take sides again and again in European wars for empire. And when the fur trade was effectively over, when the Indians had been reduced by war and epidemics, when Indians lands had been trimmed down to slivers of their former size--what was there for the Indians then? The answer is too well known to dwell on. Suffice to say that they had lost a precious thing: autonomy. They are struggling even today to gain back a few crumbs of control over the destiny that they lost back when the first Indian traded a beaver skin for two biscuits.

The changes in the Indians' social structure and hunting economy produced by the fur trade have been well documented by anthropologists and historians, with some academic disagreements about details. Most agree, however, on a few essentials: that family hunting and trapping areas became more firmly defined and extended, that subsistence hunting gave way to hunting for market and trade, that economic autonomy gave way to dependence on the truck houses, and that economic arrangements changed from cooperation and sharing between members to competition between members for the European goods that had come to mean survival.

Maine was the frontier of both the English and the French, and consequently the source of ceaseless skirmishes until the fall of Quebec. For the most part, the Passamaquoddy dealt with the French, and because the French viewed Indians as basically human (something most English did not) there was intermarriage. The effect of this on social structure is hard to assess, yet surely it must have had some; there are cases of Frenchmen becoming local chiefs.

The French and English Wars

In the colonial period there were several wars, which are usually called the French and Indian Wars by American historians. They could more properly be called the French and English Wars, however, for they were entensions of European conflicts, with Indians fighting on both sides. It is important to realize that those who gained least and suffered most in these conflicts were the Indians. Maine Indians almost always fought with the French, but even so, they realized the great cost, for at one point they specifically asked to remain neutral. The French granted the request, but the English did not, declaring that if the Indians would not take up arms against the French and the St. John Maliseats (their close relatives), they would be declared enemies. Naturally, they again joined the French forces. But with each successive war and its accompanying hardships and casualties, Indian numbers were reduced. For the Indians, virtually every war was followed by devastating epidemics, for they were in a weakened condition and biologically were unused to European diseases. Not only that, their former native diet was infinitely more healthy than the European food they had adopted. In the end, it hardly mattered which side they backed, for in backing either one their population loss was so great that they would never again have the strength to maintain their own power.

The French had the upper hand in wars for some time, but in the late 1750's the British took the offensive at a time when the French were least able to reinforce their troops in Canada. In 1759 the fateful Battle of Quebec was decided in favor of the British. This turning point placed the Indian allies of the French in a most unenviable position. In the Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, France relinquished almost every parcel of land it held in the New World--including the homeland of the Passamaquoddy.

The Post-War Period

The Passamaquoddy and their close relations on the St. John were the first tribes to sue for peace with the English, probably because they had been active on the side of the French, and realistically feared reprisals. According to the excellent historian Williamson (History of the State of Maine, 1832). Michael Neptune and Bellamy Glaube represented the tribes to Governor Lawrence of Halifax in February of 1760. They promised, among other things, to "Traffic only at the truck houses", as well as to have the treaty ratified by their principal men by a certain date, and to leave three hostages with the English until that time. Peace was also established between the Penobscots and the English.

English settlers emerged from their blockhouses and garrisons to begin life anew. As for the Indians, they were forced to declare their former rebellion against the English King and made to forfeit almost all their land--a convenient arrangement for the English. The English now controlled the fur trade in Maine, albeit both the Indians and the fur-bearing animals were on the decline. All trade with the Indians was regulated at two trading posts or truck houses, Fort Pownall and Fort Halifax, establishments that were carefully regulated and guarded. All commodities the Indians needed or were allowed to have were sold there. The Indians were desperately poor by that time and were no longer able to survive without guns and other necessities. They were perpetually in debt to the truck house, so much so that many people sold themselves into slavery or were forced to make their children liable for their debts. Parents sometimes even sold their children. (This among a people noted earlier for an inordinate love of children.) The legacy of poverty among Maine Indians today certainly gained an foothold in this period of their association with the white man.

In spite of their humiliating condition, Maine Indians were still feared by the English; when General Gage requested troops of Massachusetts to make war on the Indians south of the Great Lakes, the state refused on the basis of danger to the scattered settlements in Maine from the Indians remaining.

The Revolutionary War

In the years following the end of the French and English Wars in America, England imposed increasingly heavy taxations on its exports to America. Maine, in particular, had few manufactures and was heavily burdened by these taxes. By the late 1700's the atmosphere was again tense in the colonies.

In March 1775 British Captain Mowett "dismanteled" Fort Pownall on the Penobscot in violation of a British treaty with Maine Indians, upsetting the trade at a critical time of year. This and other indignities propelled the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies, by now the only tribes left in Maine, to side with the Americans against the British in the Revolution. Their fellows in the Maritimes who had not enjoyed British rule, either, soon joined the Maine Indians in an alliance that effectively prevented a successful British attack from the Canadian side.

The Americans entered into treaties of "Peace and Friendship" with the Maine and Maritime Indians, offering supplies and various guarantees both during and after the war in exchange for their help. Headquarters of the Eastern Division was set up on the coast at Machias, and a Indian regiment was headed by Colonel John Allen of Nova Scotia. Machias became the center of activity of Revolutionary Maine and a prime British target. But when four armed British vessels were sent against Machias, burning mills and buildings as they came, "Every man in the place able to bear arms was upon the shores; and then the barges were ascending the river, there were present between 40 and 50 Indian fighters, who raised and kept up a hideous yell; which being echoed by the white people in the same Indian tone, so reverberated through the forests, as to induce the supposition that they were full of wild savages" (Williamson 1832: II, 462). Frances Joseph Neptune, a Passamaquoddy shaman who eventually became a famous chief, killed the British commander with one shot, at an incredible distance. The British, in a state of shock and consternation, withdrew. Machias was not visited again during the war. (The Americans said, of Neptune's shot, "Incredible"; the Indians said, "He had powers.")

The Americans' failure to set up and supply truck houses in Maine, as promised at the outset of the war, and the news that General Washington had decided against further attempts to send an expedition to Nova Scotia, where their Wabanaki allies resided, caused some Passamaquoddy to press for neutrality rather than further involvement in the war. But the same year France was induced to join the American cause, and the affection and affiliation with the nation brought in most of the stragglers and neutrals of the Wabanaki.

Passamaquoddy Bay, the principal home of the Passamaquoddy, was on the border, in a most disputed position. Privateers of both sides continually seized each other's goods. Some supplies were reaching the British from Nova Scotia through the bay, and at this realization Colonel Allen sought Passamaquoddy aid in stopping the traffic. The Passamaquoddy were most familiar with the treacherous bay and were good seamen. They were charged to go aboard any vessels, examine their papers, and force any ship that appeared to be connected with the British to go to Machias. They were also to turn over any Tories sending intelligence to St. John to Ambroise Bear, a Malecite chief, and assist him in bringing suspects to Machias. The Passamaquoddy performed well in this role, and Allen complimented them for "behaving with the greatest politeness and humanity to the prisoners."

The real focus of the war, however, had shifted to the southern colonies, and Cornwallis' surrender in Virginia in 1781 was the decisive event. When the Treaty of Paris of 1783 was signed, and the British grudgingly gave in to the demand that America be accorded full independence as a nation. Now was the time of reward for the Passamaquoddy and their Indian allies, the time when the promises made by Allen, as a representative of the government, would be met. Or would they?

Despite the repeated urgings of Allen and the Indians, virtually nothing had been done by the U. S. ten years after the Treaty of Paris. The Indians were destitute, in large part because of the war, and were beginning to make threats of retreating to Canada and joining the British, who had not completely given up the thought of regaining some territory. Allen went so far as to have the Indians take his two young sons hostage one winter, as proof of his sincere intentions to make the government honor the obligations he had made in its behalf. He appealed in an eloquent letter to the Massachusetts legislature, pointing out that the Indians still had letters from Massachusetts and General Washington promising that the widdows and children of Indian veterans would be cared for, that the Indians should be guaranteed free exercise of religion and be supplied with a priest and a suitable residence for him, that they were to have exclusive rights of the beaver hunt, and that the wanton destruction of game by white hunters was to be curtailed. In addition, ammunition was to be provided for fowling in times of emergency, fair trade was to be established and regulated, and an agent was to reside near them to assist in business dealings and to redress wrongs. Finally, the Indians were to be viewed as "brothers and children under the protection and fatherly care of the United States" and to enjoy every right and privilege. (The Passamaquoddy are still attempting to gain such federal recognition.)

Somehow, during the course of the war, the St. John and Passamaquoddy were induced to resign most of their lands to the United States, in return for a formal confirmation that certain of their ancient lands were inviolably theirs. In his letter, Allen reminded the Massachusetts legislature that it was at their urging that the Federal Eastern Indian Outpost was dissolved and ties between the federal government and the Indians in Maine were severed. (Massachusetts claimed this as the right of an original colony, but having accomplished this, did nothing further.) Finally, in 1794 a treaty was made between Massachusetts and the Passamaquoddy which further reduced Indian land, and was as notable for imposing restrictions as it was for fulfilling promises. The land reserved for Indians was somehow seen to be a benevolent gift of the state, rather than a miserly scrap of what was really their own territory. Later, the ultimate corruption was the leasing of much of this land for "999 years" to whites, without Indian consent.

Now, the Passamaquoddy have succeeded in having the Maine Federal Court Judge order the reluctant Department of Justice and Department of the Interior to sue Maine and Massachusetts on their behalf for alienated reservation lands guaranteed in the 1794 treaty. It has been a long hard fight to reach this stage; "Run Around" is still the name of the game.

The 1800's

In 1820, Maine separated from Massachusetts and became a state. In the Compact of Separation between the two bodies, Maine agreed to continue the concern and care of Indians within Maine borders that had been exercised by Massachusetts. Massachusetts secured a release from its treaties with the Penobscots, but failed to do so with the more remote Passamaquoddy. Massachusetts set aside $35,000 for a trust fund to be established for the support of Maine Indians. Two large townships, the present Mattawamkeag and Woodville were set aside, and their timber, hay, and other produce were also to be used for Indian support. The trust fund still exists, although the interest continues to be placed in the general fund of the state. The fund was unavailable to Indians until recently, although accasionally it was used in their behalf or on behalf of others (without Indian consent); the townships were sold to the state for $50,000 by the Penobscots in 1833 by some inducement or other, and never used as intended by Massachusetts. A dreary recital of abuses of Passamaquoddy and Penobscot welfare trails through the 1800's, giving a good picture of the condition of Indians in the state, and the attitude of white inhabitants toward them. The culminating blow of that century occurred when, in a case concerning Passamaquoddy hunting rights, the state declared the tribe to be nonexistant. (With characteristic doggedness, however, the Passamaquoddy failed to become extinct.)

During this century, the Indians at Pleasant Point subsisted chiefly from fishing and sealing. Seal oil, much in demand, was sold in nearby Eastport. At Indian Township, farming was the mainstay, supplemented with hunting, fishing, basketmaking, and guiding. Later in the century, Indians worked in logging and lumbering. Side occupations were fur trading and the making of snowshoes, axe handles, canoe paddles, and canoes. There was much shipbuilding in Washington County at this time, but there is no evidence that Indians engaged in this industry.

The Civil War brought out the strange rumor that confederate agents were at work among the Passamaquoddy. In a letter to a Calais newspaper, Chief

John Francis denied that his people planned to rise and massacre the whites of the region. Passamaquoddy who wanted to join the Union Army were at first refused, but later this ruling was changed, and several served well in the cause of the Union. John Francis himself joined the Union Navy.

Education became a debated issue. Some Passamaquoddies wanted it for their children, but wanted it in French, taught by the Catholic clergy. Some thought it more realistic that their children now learn English, but feared Protestant proselytizing. Some thought it of no earthly use and wanted none of it. Protestant and Catholic clergy and missionaries vied for the chance to educate the Indians, while the state hung onto the purse strings. In the end the English language and Catholic priests won. The church has had a major hand in education on the Maine reservations ever since; only very recently have lay teachers been included in the reservation schools. During the 1800's the dwindling fur trade was still carried on at the trading post in Robbinston on the coast by a few hardy souls, but the growing thing for Indians was making baskets for the tourist trade that was beginning to blossom in Maine. Passamaquoddy men of this era were still to be seen in fur hats, moccasins, and silver brooches and armbands; not really as they were in 1600, but not like the white men around them, either. Women wore tall beaver hats with silver bands, silver buttons and brooches, elaborately beaded leggings, and red and blue trade-cloth skirts; they were colorfully set apart from their white sisters of the time.

The 1800's brought many changes: English to American control; the Civil War; the emergence of Maine as a state; the entrance of Indians into the white economy other than in the fur trade; the jelling of methods of "dealing with Indians" (as, for example, the mythical extinction of the tribe); the introduction of education on the reservations, amidst power plays of Protestants and Catholics; and the changes in tribal structure, which resulted, in the last analysis, from pressures exerted from outside. It was an eventful hundred years for the Passamaquoddy.

1900's to 1950's

Little changed in the Passamaquoddy relationship to the state of Maine until the 1920's. In the twenties there was little work available on or near the reservations, and many men had been lost or disabled in the World War I, creating further hardship. The tribe's representative to the legislature, disabled veteran George Stevens, Sr., appealed to the legislature for welfare relief for Indian communities. His appeal had effect, and assistance was given to the reservations although no jobs were made available.

The problem of dealing with Indians was removed from the Governor and Council where it had been dealt with from 1820 to 1927. Then the Forestry Department took over until 1933. Next Health and Welfare had its turn until 1965, when at last the Indians got their own State Department of Indian Affairs.

In the 1940's a chunk of the larger Passamaquoddy reservation was taken by federal eminent domain for a German prisoner of war camp. (Internment was apparently not too grueling for the prisoners; dates between Indian girls and Germans were not uncommon.) After the war, the land was returned--to the state, not the Indians--and was sold off in lots to white buyers. Today it is an island of white homeowners within the reservation, and one of the parcels of land the Passamaquoddy are claiming in their law suit.

As for the economy in the first half of the twentieth century, the small amount of work available to Indians at Indian Township consisted of dangerous river drives where the logs were herded to the mills, and woods work, with seasonal potato picking in Aroostook County and blueberry raking within Washington County. At Pleasant Point, there was hard, low-paid work for women and children in the sardine factories that once dotted the region's coast. In the early part of the century there was still some sealing, but soon a bounty was put on seals, because fishermen found the seals troublesome. The Passamaquoddy, who could not so easily make a profit at fishing as they could at sealing, were the main losers in this shift in the economy. For a time they engaged in a "sealnose conspiracy", counterfeiting many sealnoses from one sealskin and turning them in to the game warden for the bounty. This was a successful means of subsistence for a while, but eventually three of the conspirators were jailed. (The game warden then demanded the seal tail for proof of a kill, and the remaining counterfeiters resorted to making two "tails" out of each flipper, for a total of only nine "tails" per seal--but it was a living!)

The 1920's to the 1940's were economically very hard times in the region, for the Indians in particular, but during World War II there was work in the shipyards in Portland and in the fish factories on the coast; The isolated Indian Township people were taken by bus to the fish factories in Eastport, more than 50 miles away. Many Passamaquoddies joined the armed services. After World War II the arrival of more cars on the reservation increased opportunities for work off the reserve, and the economy in general picked up. All things being relative, however, this still only meant things were better, not good, for Washington County has been an economically depressed area for many decades.

During the first 50 years of the twentieth century there were few changes in education or tribal government. Children still attended school only in the summer when the nuns came, and women were still not on the tribal council. There were changes, to be sure, during this period, but for the most part there were few signs that a burst of activity would begin in the 1950's.

The 1950's to the Present

The period from about 1955 to the present day has been one of profound change for the Passamaquoddy in almost every sphere, from educational and religious to economic and political. There are no signs of a slowdown in the reordering of Passamaquoddy culture and its relationship to the world outside. The change seems to have resulted from a fortuitous combination of personalities, from changes in national policy regarding poor people, and from the realization on both the state and national levels that the American Indians have been treated unjustly.

First, the personalities. At Pleasant Point Reservation, George Francis--who had been away from the reservation for over forty years,--was elected chief. Francis, one of the few who had been educated at Carlisle Indian School, had later secured a good job in the auto industry in Detroit, where he lived and worked until his retirement. After his wife died and his children had married, he returned home to Pleasant Point, where he was accepted as naturally as though he had never been away. An intelligent man with experience on the outside, he had seen enough in other places to know that Passamaquoddies were worse off than they should be. After being elected chief, Francis exposed the situation of Maine Indians to the press, simultaneously working on the state level to increase revenues for Indians. Until this time, most people outside of Washington County were not aware that there were still Indians in Maine, so forgotten were they.

At about the same time, a young chief, John Stevens, was elected at Indian Township. Stevens had grown up in the poorest reservation in Maine under worse than usual circumstances, because his father, a former Indian representative, had been mistakenly imprisoned during most of Stevens' young life. His early experiences of going cold and hungry made Stevens react strongly to seeing young Koreans in that same condition. This new objective view of the effects of poverty made him resolve to change reservation conditions if he returned home alive. He did return and was elected chief at the age of 21 on the basis of promising to change things for the better. His early efforts were aimed at removing a despotic and dishonest Indian agent assigned to the Passamaquoddy.

Since the separation of the tribe into two main parts in the 1800's, there had been little cooperation or political exchange between the two Passamaquoddy reservations, but the young and the old chief were brought together because of George Francis' cultivation of the news media and, as one of them said, "Publicity forced us to cooperate". The two men became good friends and began having joint council meetings whenever mutual problems and issues arose. Stevens said, "We learned we couldn't afford to be separate, but must unite. Today the reservation may have political squabbles among themselves, but when they go after something, they are united."

In the 1960's Stevens read about the Office of Economic Opportunity, and he wrote asking if the Passamaquoddy, as "poor people", qualified for some of its programs. The response was that Maine wasn't set up to receive the programs, but when it was the Passamaquoddy would be considered. This was not too long in coming and the Passamaquoddies were made a delegate agency (later, an autonomous agency) of the Washington County Community Action Project. The tribe set up an OEO board and, in the process of groping through guidelines and regulations, learned not only of other programs available to them but also of OEO Legal Services. There was an awakening to a new set of possibilities having nothing to do with the State of Maine, which in the past had been singularly unresponsive to Indian needs.

Having gained a measure of control over their own destiny for the first time in 200 years with a CAP program, the Passamaquoddy had confindence to go on to other things. Their leaders began elbowing their way into different committees that involved their welfare, including the Bureau of Human Relations Services of the Catholic Church, which eventually formed a Division of Indian Services.

Some of the first concentrated efforts of Indians were to introduce legislation and to lobby on behalf of Indians. Much latent hostility was stirred up in the legislature when Indians began speaking on their own behalf, so that while public awareness of Maine Indians increased, so did political resistance. Indian governors learned that without public support to pressure officials, they would get nowhere; so they began speaking throughout the state, to the Leaque of woman voters and the Maine Teacher's Association, to college and university students and professors, and to anyone else who would listen. More press coverage resulted; ultimately, sufficient pressure was put on the legislature so that it passed (on its fifth presentation) a bill forming a state Department of Indian Affairs, as well as other Indian bills.

Suddenly, the Indians of Maine had become visible. The United Council of Churches, in a survey of sanitary and health conditions, reported that there was no electricity, water, or sewage on the reservations, that more than half of the few available wells were contaminated, that houses were inadequate, that Maine Indians could not vote in state or national elections.

The Civil Rights Commission took notice, and soon a bill was passed giving Indians the right to vote in national elections in 1953. Maine was the last state in the Union to ratify the federal ruling on Indians of 1924; even then the bill was introduced twice before passing. Only Utah was as lax.

In 1957 a bill was passed to take money from the Passamaquoddy Trust Fund and build homes under the aegis of the Department of Health and Welfare. Although many Passamaquoddy approved, they were not really consulted, and they were unable to get Health and Welfare to include Indians on the building planning board. Cracker-box houses were hastily built of substandard materials on concrete slabs, crammed into a tiny area in a way incompatible with Indian living preferences. They were too small for the typically large families and were firetraps as well; several deaths have occurred when people couldn't escape from the buildings.

The houses on Indian Township were built first. When the residents saw what they were like and how their trust fund money was being used, they appealed to the Civil Rights Commission. The Commission sent Andrea Bear, a Canadian Indian who was a student at Colby College, to investigate. Her report was damning, but little action was taken--except that the houses built at Pleasant Point reservation the following year were made slightly larger and placed farther apart, although in many ways they were structually inferior to those at Indian Township. Indians still had no say in the construction or placement of the houses, although they could choose the color of the kitchen floor. The state proudly claims to have "given" the Passamaquoddy this housing, implying somehow that it was at the taxpayer's expense rather than from the Indian trust fund--(which despite years of state abuse miraculously still had something left in it).

Miss Bear also reported to the Commission that Indians could not get haircuts in the nearby town of Princeton, and the barbershops were then ordered to accept Indian clients or close down. They chose to close down. Still, even that was progress of a sort, for it showed Indians that they had some control--however nebulous--over things.

In the late 1950's, the celebrated Passamaquoddy Land Case began--in a poker game. Years before, the state had illegally "leased" several parcels of Indian Township for 999 years to white men. One of the leasers put up, as stakes in a poker game, a piece of land that adjoined property leased for a motel. The motel owner "won" the lot that night, and the next day he began setting up stakes around it--including in "his" area the yard of an Indian home. The Indians held an angry meeting, deciding to stand guard and also to appeal to the State Attorney General; he ruled that it would be up to the tribe to bring suit against the motel keeper. The tribe had no lawyer and no money to hire one, so it decided to provoke arrest in order to force the motel keeper to bring the suit to court. They stood guard on the land, threatening to cut down all the trees on the motel grounds if the road was begun on the disputed lot. The State Police unsuccessfully tried to dissuade the Indians; finally, when only women were on guard, the police made their arrests and carted five Passamaquoddy off to jail. This news made the papers, and prompted someone to tell Stevens of a new attorney in Eastport who might take their case.

The lawyer, for whom private funding was arranged, forced the presiding judge to disqualify himself on the grounds he had drawn up the deeds for the white leasers, and a second judge was appointed. He in turn dismissed the case for lack of evidence against the Passamaquoddy. Still, they needed to get the case into court, so the Passamaquoddy confiscated a gravel truck belonging to the motel keeper, who tried to shoot them. At this impasse, the tribal lawyer and the Attorney General got the motel keeper to desist, and the zone was considered neutral until the question of Passamaquoddy land could be settled in court. Thus, further selling of Indian property was barred, and the land case began in earnest in 1959. Through various fits and starts it had finally reached a promising stage in 1972, is presently being handled by the Native American Rights Fund of Denver, and Hogan and Hartson of Washington, and may be finally settled by 1975. As for the motel keeper, he has had the foresight to sell "his" motel property.

As a direct result of this case, the formerly vague feelings of being "had" by the state have been crystallized into cold historical facts, and Passamaquoddies today know their rights and their history as never before. This new knowledge has brought changes in the schools and in relationships with the state, and a new determination not to be "had" again.

In 1968, land ownership was again threatened, and again the tribe rose to the occasion. Georgia Pacific Lumber Company, the main employer in the area, began cutting operations on Indian Township--apparently with the consent of the state but not with the consent of the Indians. The council appealed to the company to stop, with no results. Then it appealed to the cutting crews, augmenting the appeal with beer and picnic lunches; although the crews were sympathetic, the next day they were back on the job. Then the Passamaquoddy, joined by some Penobscots and Malecites, resorted to an imaginative tactic. They dressed, from oldest to youngest in Indian regalia, replete with paint and feathers, and, making the negative TV image work in their favor, staged an "attack" on the cutting crews, many of whom still had hangovers from the previous days' "picnic". The crews fled in such haste they left behind thousands of dollars worth of woods equipment, which was confiscated by the Passamaquoddy, who then were in a real position to bargain with the huge company. Company officials came to the reservation for a parley, appealing to Chief Stevens, as a company employee and a reasonable man, to talk sense to his tribe. He spoke to his fellow Indians briefly in Passamaquoddy, saying, in effect, "Give 'em hell!" They did, and Georgia Pacific withdrew. Negotiations were now open for a new land-management policy, the hiring of Indian cutting crews, and an Indian forest ranger. The tribe had accomplished another major victory, and its impact on tribal self-respect and pride is immeasurable.

In 1969, the state cut off aid for the summer--including medical supplies to the elderly and milk for children. When no appeals from the tribe were successful, the Passamaquoddy blockaded the road running through Indian Township. The road is virtually the only route through a vast wooded area to the paper mill, the market town of Calais, and the Canadian border. The turnout for the blockage was large, the plan organized, and the self-assurance high. During the land case the

Passamaquoddy had learned that the road was built on land taken, but never recompensed, from the reservation, and that it had been built with monies from the Indian fund. By all rights, the road through the reservation was theirs, so they charged toll: $1 for cars and $2 for trucks. State officials were on their way immediately, and miraculously the funds were located to continue the needed assistance programs. Although several Passamaquoddy were jailed, all were soon released.

Again, after generations of apathy, the tribe had rallied to an occasion and emerged the victor. Confrontation is not a traditional Passamaquoddy approach to problems, yet they have learned during the past 15 years that they have strength, backing from many sources, and power over their destiny. They are not about to accept injustice silently, ever again.

By 1965, the Indians of Maine had suffrage in state and national elections, electricity, some new homes, a land case in the works, the attention of conscientious white groups in the state, a church aware of Indian problems, a sympathetic press, some Title I education funds, several federal programs, and a new land management policy.

Many more changes occurred during the final half of this decade: the state Department of Indian Affairs had been created, and soon Indians had a voice in choosing the commissioner and his deputy; federal water and sewage treatment facilities were being installed; an anonymous doner gave funds for travel expenses to the tribal governors and councils; an Indian education specialist was hired, and Indian education was placed in the Department of Education for the first time;

women became active in tribal politics; and a school bond issue was passed for new achools on both reservations, and more federal programs were introduced, among them Head Start, Operation Mainstream, HUD (planning for new housing), and Indian Legal Services. Reservation conditions were and still are pretty poor; but they have come a long way from the standstill of the centuries preceding 1950.

In the early 1970's, former chief George Francis died at Pleasant Point. The same year, his friend John Stevens left Indian Township in his seventeenth year as chief, to become the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. His aim still, as always, is to get Indians in control of their own lives. He is presently working to introduce legislation that would give tribal councils control over the Department of Indian Affairs, so that even if he is not succeeded by another Indian, control will still be in Indian hands. The trend towards self-determination is finally beginning to show results.

In the spring of 1973 the following programs were operating at the Passamaquoddy reservations: CAP, Headstart, Mainstream, HUD and EDA, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Homemaker classes under HEW and the Catholic Church, Office of Education, basic education courses, Opportunity Industrialization Centers under the Department of Labor, alcoholism program under state Department of Indian Affairs, home economics assistance from University of Maine Extension Service, scholarships and intern apprenticeships from the Archdiocese of Portland, and, at Indian Township, a new program in bilingual education run by a Passamaquoddy. Each reservation also has a fledgling Basket Co-op in early stages of development.

The University of Maine recently opened its doors to Indian students, offering free tuition, room, and board--within a few months Indian enrollment had increased beyond anyone's estimates. Nearly every college and university in the state is trying to create Indian Studies programs, and the University of Maine is attempting to establish a Talent Development program for state Indians. Bowdoin College is working on a year-round recreation program for young people on the reserves in conjunction with the Newman Apostolate of that college, while Unity College is planning a program to help Indian adults obtain college degrees in a special part-time program. Indian speakers and Indian craftsmen are in great demand. There has been a Renaissance of Indian crafts, songs, and dances; and newspaper articles about Maine Indians--once a rarity--are now commonplace.

Maine Indians are now on the map and in the news, and are beginning to believe in themselves. Although many programs are not producing sensational results, and the poverty cycle has not yet been broken, the seeds of a better life and of community autonomy have been planted and have taken root--and things will never be the same again.

PART TWO

FACTORS AFFECTING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

PART TWO
FACTORS AFFECTING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Tribal Wealth

Most of the usable natural resources of the tribe are located on Indian Township, the larger by far of the two reservations. The township consists of approximately 23,000 acres, including around 16,000 acres of usable timberland, 100 miles of undeveloped fresh-water shoreline on pure lakes and streams, and 7,000 acres relegated to bogs, heaths, open lands, and "alienated" (disputed) lots.

The timberlands produce mostly softwoods, such as spruce, hemlock, cedar, pine, fir, and tamarack. Some hardwoods are also found there; brown ash is sought in particular for basket making. The area is part of the watershed of the West Branch of the St. Croix River, which is near the northeast part of the reservation. There are many fine lakes, including Lewey's Lake and Big Lake on the reservation, all with excellent fishing. Nearby West Grand Lake is famous for fishing, with many tourist homes and lodges. There seems to be no reason why Indian Township could not attract a similar development, for reservation lakes abound in trout, togue, bass, and land-locked salmon.

Hunting on the township is as good as any other place in Maine, a state famed for good hunting. There is an abundance of deer, bear, small game, and fowl, and a good-sized moose herd (although hunting moose is legal only for Indians). The potential for a sportsmen's tourist development is great, and plainly it is the avenue of income most likely to succeed--yet it is the one that has failed to receive funding to date.

At Pleasant Point Reservation, some 50 miles to the east, a small but beautiful shoreline borders Passamaquoddy Bay. Beyond the shore lies the barren, hilly reservation of 100 acres. Some salt-water fishing and lobstering is done off the shores, and salt-water-oriented recreation seems to be the best bet for development at this reservation, with perhaps a marina and tourist complex to take advantage of the trade that comes through the reservation on Coastal Route 1.

The semi-precious minerals found along a coastal mineral belt are a secondary natural resource. Although the area is a haven for rock-hunters, this resource is undeveloped. The Passamaquoddy have shown considerable potential for handicrafts, however, and might conceivably utilize this resource (with the proper backing, material, and training) to produce an Eastern Indian jewelry craft--but this is speculation only.

Utilization and Management of Natural Resources

By far the greatest user of the natural resources of the reservations is the tribe, which sees the lands as communally owned, although held in a sort of bondage by the state until the land case is settled.

At Pleasant Point, tribal members do some porpoise shooting, operate two fish weirs, and swim, fish, and lobster as individuals. At Indian Township the lakes and woods are used freely by tribal members for hunting, trapping, and fishing, as well as for swimming, camping, and boating. Indians from both reservations collect balsam "tips" for the wreath-making business that flourishes in the county for a few weeks in winter, producing high-quality Christmas wreaths for sale throughout Maine and Massachusetts.

Besides procuring personal food, hunters may sell hides and pelts. Many Passamaquoddy act as seasonal licensed guides, both on and off the reservation. A new law requires that non-tribal members who use the reservation for hunting must obtain a special license from the tribal council for $25, and that the hunters must hire an Indian guide as well. The hunting is very good, and the Passamaquoddy know their land intimately, so actually the arrangement is a good deal for the hunter.

A small picnic site on Indian Township, maintained by the reservation and the Univeristy of Maine, is well run by a tribal member. Despite a lack of advertising, there are usually more people wishing to camp than there are campsites--another indication that a tourist development would work here.

Finally, the natural resources are utilized by Indians in procuring the basic ingredients for home remedies that augment the spotty health care of the county; indeed, these natural remedies often work as well or better than those supplied by local doctors.

On Indian Township, timber is a planned resource and the main source of revenue for the Passamaquoddy Trust Fund. Until very recently there were virtually no Indians on the Indian Township Land Management Committee, which was made up of representatives from Georgia Pacific Lumber Company, the Maine Forestry Service, the University of Maine Forestry Department, and the Department of Health and Welfare. (Occasionally the reservation priest was invited to the committee meetings as a concession to the tribe.) After the confrontation with the Georgia Pacific Co. in 1968, a new land management committee was formed, made up of both the tribal governors and councils, and one member each from the Department of Indian Affairs, the Department of Forest Services, Georgia Pacific Lumber Company, and the University of Maine. This makes fifteen Indians to three whites, a real change in the balance of power. The Passamaquoddy Trust Fund is replenished yearly by revenue from lumber cut by Indians and bought by either Georgia Pacific for the nearby paper mill or by the state for firewood.

Potential Development of Natural Resources

The Passamaquoddy, like most Indians, want to protect and keep their natural resources, but they also see the possibilities of developing these resources in a way that will not exhaust the environment. Economic concerns are clearly not paramount, however; a recent attempt to locate an oil refinery and oil storage depot on the two reservations was turned down unanimously by both councils, despite offers of large sums, jobs for everyone, and miscellaneous benefits.

The tribe would like to develop recreation area, however. A recent bulletin of the Center for Community Economic Development (May, 1972) noted that "The growth of recreation and tourism and the shifting pattern of development to less congested and polluted areas will in the next decade offer a tremendous opportunity for revitalizing rural America. But the rural poor who should stand to gain from these trends are being pushed out of the picture." The same bulletin mentions that, although outsiders are investing in real estate in Maine for the expected land and recreation boom, the official state stance is to attract industry, and "the attention of most regional offices of federal agencies (in Maine) is riveted to the mobility strategy and industrial development." Perhaps this official state attitude is why Passamaquoddy proposals to EDA for the funding of tourist complexes on both reservations have been turned down. But it is hard for people familiar with the reservation settings, including this writer, to understand how anything else could take precedence over so obvious a source of workable economic development as tourist facilities.

A good rundown of the recreation (and other) potential of the area is given by Tannenbaum in "Passamaquoddy Indian Economic Development" (report under EDA Contract 0-35417, January 1972). Besides mentioning the obvious advantages of marinas, picnic sites, craft outlets, motels, and cottages for the reservation, the author notes that a sawmill and equipment for producing cedar shingles and fences would have a good chance of success on Indian Township.

In 1969 the Clarkson Corporation did a traffic study on both reservations and found that Pleasant Point has almost a captive audience for a museum-restaurant-marina complex, while the traffic flow was lower at Indian Township. The roads to Indian Township are poor, discouraging all but the dauntless, but it would seem that pressure could be put on the state by the assisting federal agencies to rectify this.

Year-round recreation in Maine is a growing business, and it is at least as possible on Indian Township as anyplace else in the state. Here cross-country skiiing, snowshoeing (on Indian-made snowshoes), and snowmobiling could be routed through numerous woods roads and still be kept clear of the Indian living settlements; ice fishing, iceboating, and skating are other winter possibilities. The summer recreation potential is even more obvious, with possibilities being limited only by money and imagination. Tourist development would correspond well with Passamaquoddy preferences for varying kinds of employment and seasonal cycles of activity, and with Passamaquoddy ideals of land use. From every angle, tourism is the best economic bet--yet it fails to be funded. Why?

Capital Resources

Capital resources of the tribe are currently fairly small, in terms of funds that are truly available, with no strings attached, for use as the tribe sees fit. The Passamaquoddy Trust Fund totals around $109,000.

The Trust Fund originated at the 1820 separation of Maine and Massachusetts. Massachusetts gave $35,000 for the establishment of the fund, stating in the Compact of Separation that the hay and timber proceeds of two large townships were also to be placed in the Trust Fund for the tribe. (These two townships were sold soon after the Separation Compact.)

Today, the proceeds of timber sales on Indian Township are the only source of replenishment of the Trust Fund. Still, much time has elapsed since 1820. One might well ask, "Where is all the accrued interest that should be in the Trust Fund?" Incredible as it may seem, no one ever has been made accountable for uses of the fund, and Indians have never received reports about expenditures until the past five years. Certainly they were never asked to approve uses of the fund. Research done both independently and in conjunction with the land case has shown that many towns have had access to the fund, including Biddeford, Wiscassett, Portland, Bangor, Old Town, Houlton, and Eastport. Eastport, for example, borrowed from the fund to build toll bridges and then declared bankruptcy; it never repaid the large sums borrowed, even though it continued to collect tolls until the bridges were torn down. The road built through Indian Township, a state highway, was paid for by money from the Trust Fund, as were the bridges at either end of the Township--although the Indians were not recompensed for land taken to build this road.

Abuses of the fund have been almost unremitting since Maine's inception as a state. To quote Indian Commissioner Stevens, "It was the slush fund for every politician around, and any campaign promises were paid for out of the Indian Fund. And then they say, "Oh! Those poor Indians! No wonder we're poor--they've been stealing us blind for years!!"

Until the new land management policy was established after the Georgia Pacific showdown, the Trust Fund was controlled by the State Governor and Council, and Indians had no way of knowing how much money was annually received nor how much was taken out. Indians could not request use of the fund, and indeed, very little of it seems to have been spent in their behalf. Now that the Land Management Committee consists of 15 Indians and 3 whites, this picture has changed rather dramatically. The fund is now under the control of the Department of Indian Affairs, and each Passamaquoddy Tribal Council may request up to 40 per cent of the fund if it sees fit, while 20 per cent must remain to earn interest. Since this new ruling, however, the Passamaquoddy have left the fund almost entirely untouched.

The land case, of course, has a tremendous potential for increasing the Trust Fund. If the Passamaquoddy win their case, the state's failure to meet conditions of the Compact of Separation from Massachusetts will cause it to be held accountable for the abuses of the Trust Fund. If the tribe should win back what was taken from the fund, plus interest and damages, a very large sum would gather in the coffers. There might also be repayment of state taxes collected from illegally sold or leased Indian lands, taxes that even today are paid into the state's General Fund.

Thus, although current capital resources of the Passamaquoddy are slim, their potential resources are substantial if they win their land case, and it appears that they do have a good chance of winning, even though the Departments of Justice and Interior are resisting the case with every legal ploy possible. In effect, the Passamaquoddy, by asking the Government to sue in their behalf, are asking it to admit its implicit blame in the case. This, in turn, would make it easy for Maine, if it loses, to turn to the federal government for aid in paying reparations. The federal government, in effect, is being asked to sue itself.

Tribal leaders and the lawyers involved in the case plan to convince the tribe of the importance of carefully managing any moneys taken in. They hope to see the money invested with only the interest used, a sum that should still exceed the present budget of the state Department of Indian Affairs. Pending the outcome of the case, however, these funds are only a potential capital resource.

The budget of the Department of Indian Affairs is allocated approximately $300,000 a year for the Passamaquoddy people. Much of this is used for medical aid and staff salaries and cannot really be viewed as a capital resource; the legislature assigns budget categories, and the tribe has no control over these expenditures. The same is true of the federal programs on the reservations, for the budgets are relatively inflexible and must be spent as designated in the grant applications.

The tribe continually faces the problem of receiving funds that make part of a plan operative but supply no working capital. This has been the fate of the OEO-funded Basket Co-op, for example. Currently the Co-op has a machine for pounding ash for basket splints, but there are no funds for getting the machine installed and running, so splints are still pounded by hand. The tribal council would probably not sanction the Basket Co-op using Trust Fund money for this, an unproved enterprise, and so the expensive machine sits unused.

Occurrences of a similar kind are not unusual in the implementation of federal programs. An MDTA program to train basketmakers, for example, prohibited selling of the finished products--even though there was a market for baskets and even though the Passamaquoddy had bought the raw materials for production. Many of the finished baskets were taken apart, rewoven, and then sold. Most of them were given away, however--at a time when the Basket Co-op was in dire need of operating capital. This is clearly a silly way of doing things, and the Passamaquoddy can hardly be expected to show respect for program guidelines that are frequently foolish in application.

After the new basket-makers had been trained, the Co-op had accrued no working capital to hire them--partly because of the outlay in labor and raw materials for the training program, for which MDTA did not pay the promised sum after the program was completed (claiming that too few workers had been trained). Thus the bank loan that the Co-op had taken out to pay the trainees had to be repaid with the Co-op"s only other revenue: money from making Christmas wreaths. This, too, was a disaster, for the winter was warm, the wreaths shed their needles, and sales were low; a church organization that had placed a large order failed to come up with the expected purchasers. The Co-op was barely able to pay off the bank loan. The Passamaquoddy Basket Co-op now has managers paid by the CAP program, a building rented by the CAP program, equipment (some donated by the University of Maine), substantial orders from the Army and other organizations, and personnel who already know the business or who have been trained on MDTA. Yet there is little activity, because of lack of operating capital to get the ash pounders operating and to pay labor until filled orders can take care of the payroll. In 1972 a capable Co-op manager quit his job in frustration, and one can hardly blame him.

As another example, HUD installed the greater part of the water and sewage treatment systems on the reservations in the last two years, but did not provide hook-ups to homes. Thousands of dollars worth of equipment sat idle for more than a year, until the state was needled into assisting with the hook-ups; then the reservations were dug up all over again, at great nuisance and expense.

Federal programs frequently operate on the premise that the state will also do its part, but Maine is poor and is itself in need of economic development. The legislature's approach to poverty is to dole out welfare or Indian Agent monies, which is rather like putting a Band-Aid on a bleeding artery. The federal government is wasting its time with reservation programs, until it takes a total approach to the total problems and ceases its fragmented attempts at economic development, which produce in Indians--and other low-income groups--a sense of failure, confusion, and a fear of trying again.

Other Tribal Resources

The Passamaquoddy have a resource--as yet unrealized by themselves, the state, or the federal government--in their rich, if largely unwritten, history, for there is considerable potential for an historical tourist attraction. What does this potential consist of?

1. The Passamaquoddy were among the first Indians of New England to meet with Europeans (long before the settlement of Plymouth), and Champlain's St. Croix Island, a national historic monument, is nearby.

2. They were among the first Christian converts in North America, and church history is extensive for the area.

3. They were important during the Revolutionary War, primarily as a bulwark against the British in Canada.

4. The tribe was part of the Wabanaki Confederacy and later of the Great Council Fire of the Iroquois League, a formidable third force in the French-English struggle for empire.

5. The Passamaquoddy were essential in resolving the international boundary dispute between Maine and Canada.

6. They invented the canvas-covered canoe, which dominated the market for 75 years.

7. Franklin Roosevelt frequented Pleasant Point Reservation, across the bay from the family summer home at Campobello (today an international historic site containing many Passamaquoddy baskets, rustic furniture, birch canoes, and other handiwork).

8. The Passamaquoddy are unique among Northeastern Indians in the retention of their language, and many of their customs, crafts, and authentic tribal dances are well known to most tribal members.

Recent historical studies are turning up more information on this really interesting tribe, and it does seem that an entrepreneurial mind could make a paying attraction out of this wealth of historic material. A side benefit would be a boost to the morale and pride of the tribe, which after years of depletion, could well use such a lift.

The tribe also has itself as resource; first, in the potentially increased population that should result from better housing, jobs, schools, and medical care, which appear to be coming in; and second, in the sense that the Passamaquoddy harbor a potential for outstanding craft work, evidenced not only by the expert basket work and woodworking, but also in the new crafts that recently have been introduced, with considerable show of talent among both young and old. Economic development plans that direct this tendency towards skill in handiwork and craftsmanship could do quite well, provided such plans are approached in total perspective, not piecemeal, as they were with the ill-starred Basket Co-op.

Tribal Income: Its Sources and Uses

Hunting and Fishing

Fish and game are more than the products of sport to the Passamaquoddy: they are important in the sustenance of life. Indian Township reservation has both hunting and freshwater fishing, while Pleasant Point has salt-water products, and many families have members who pursue these natural resources at least some of the time. Commonly, those who hunt and fish distribute some of their catch to friends and relatives throughout the tribe, so that there is a wide distribution of these goods on and between the two reservations. Because fish and game are usually outright gifts, they can be considered edible income.

Seasonal Work

Quick income from short bursts of hard work is available through blueberry raking, potato harvesting, and wreath making. Guiding sportsmen also provides seasonal work for a few. The emphasis on seasonal labor has dropped dramatically during the last few years, apparently because of the increase of reservation jobs (low paid but full time), and also because of the increased availability of transportation, which enables Passamaquoddy to visit their Indian friends in Canada any time, rather than only at harvest times. Presently, only a small fraction of Passamaquoddy income is from seasonal labor, a definite break with practices of even five years ago. Wreath making on the reservation in the early winter season is the main seasonal work survivor, probably because the incentive for this work has always been economic and not social,--it is the main way Passamaquoddy prepare for the Christmas gift-giving season. About $12,000 was made in 1971 by the tribe as a whole, but people of all ages worked at making wreaths around the clock, seven days a week for two months; for the actual effort involved, the profit is not great. Although the wreaths sell in Boston and other cities for from $3.50 to $6.00 each, the Passamaquoddy make about 15 cents a wreath and supply the materials as well.

Local Employment

An average of 15 percent of the people at Pleasant Point work off-reservation locally, while only about 3 percent or 4 percent do so at Indian Township. These figures increase somewhat in the winter. Approximately 25 percent of the population on both reservations is currently employed in federally sponsored on-reservation programs such as CAP and Operation Mainstream, yet if these funds should be eliminated, 75 percent of the tribe would be effectively out of work, for relative prosperity of a few gives income to the 50 percent of the tribe who are self-employed, who provide various services and handcrafted articles. Some tribal members who have a little ready cash buy Passamaquoddy crafts for resale elsewhere.

The unemployment rate is around 10 percent at Pleasant Point, and around 22 percent at Indian Township, if those who are self-employed at least some of the time are considered as employed. If full-time employment is used as the criterion, unemployment figures are much higher.

Distant Employment

Approximately 35 percent of tribe works in various New England cities for the winter, and this figure includes large numbers of young men At winter's end they leave their jobs and return to the reservation for the spring and summer social season, where they live off their winter earnings and occasional odd-jobs. But as more jobs open up on the reservation, the winter exodus decreases, so that a viable economic system could well change the whole employment pattern.

Anonymous Donor Funds

For the past four years, an anonymous donor has contributed a stipend to each of the tribal officers and councilors to help with expenses, such as travel costs and babysitting fees This was a great boon to the continuation of joint council meetings, which involve a round trip drive of more than 100 miles for one reservation's governing body or the other's. The fund amounts to $6,000 a year, divided among 16 people This is probably the last year these funds will be available, however. If so, the governors and their councils will revert to the status of unpaid public servants whose jobs increase in complexity each year The Department of Indian Affairs intends to include tribal officer stipends in the next budget proposal to the legislature, which at present pays only the tribal governors, at $300 per year.

Catholic Bureau of Indian Services

The Archdiocese of Portland Division of Human Services has an Indian Services Bureau that is currently funded at $36,000 a year for the three state reservations and for the Association of Aroostook Indians in Houlton. This money is divided four ways, at about $9,000 per location and is used primarily for secondary school and college scholarships. In the past a visiting nurse was funded by the Indian Services Bureau, as were recreation programs and homemaker classes. The amount and use of these funds changes yearly.

The State Department of Indian Affairs

The Maine State Department of Indian Affairs, funded bi-annually by the state legislature, covers only those Indians who reside on the three Maine reservations. The funding changes from budget to budget but agent's reports indicate that from the 1800's onward under-appropriation has been the most consistent aspect of Maine Indian Affairs. The total current budget for Indian Affairs is about $408,553 for the year, of which approximately $237,934 goes to the two Passamaquoddy reservations. Eighteen percent of the budget goes for staff salaries (commissioner, bookkeeper, secretaries, two agents and three chaplains). Of monies allocated to the Passamaquoddy, as much as 34 percent is used for medical care, because Maine Indians are ineligible for federal Indian health services. Twenty-four percent goes for grocery orders, mostly to old people and families receiving Aid to Dependent Children. The Department of Indian Affaris also assists with clothing orders (usually for school children), with small household needs on an emergency basis, and with fire truck and ambulance service.

Bureau of Public Improvement Funds

The Bureau of Public Improvements contributes approximately $20,000 a year to Indian Affairs for home repairs and improvements on the three reservations. This is a small amount, when one considers that reservation Indians are unable to secure veterans' or bank loans for home improvement, and that this is a climate inherently destructive to wooden houses

Aid to Dependent Children

The State Department of Health and Welfare administers federal Aid to Dependent Children in the reservation communities, but does not supplement this aid, as do many other states Indian Affairs supplements ADC payments when there is no other income, but the department does not have enough funds to adequately support these families Thirty-seven families receive ADC on the two reservations combined. The payments are $95 a month for a mother and one child, $40 addition for a second child, and so on, in decreasing amounts per child People on this program also are eligible for Medicaid, which is a help to them and to the already beleaguered Indian Affairs budget

Social Security

Thirteen elderly Passamaquoddy receive Social Security Old Age Assistance, and sixteen receive State Old Age Assistance, which is granted to those whose total income is not over a certain base amount. People who receive this assistance also have Medicaid

Eight Passamaquoddy receive Social Security disability payments, but are not eligible for further assistance from the state.

Seven Passamaquoddy receive either veteran's pensions or V.A. disability payments at present.

Two persons from Pleasant Point receive Aid to the Blind.

Because labels on the Surplus Commodities Foods say "Not to Be Sold...," this food is ubiquitously called "Noddabee" on the reservations. Most families are eligible to receive "Noddabee's" and take advantage of the monthly distributions.

Federal Programs

No overall figure is available for the amounts granted to the Passamaquoddy reservations in the various federal programs. The figure fluctuates radically from year to year, as programs are augmented, discontinued, or completed. The Department of Indian Affairs plans to delineate these figures in the future.

Patterns of Income Acquisition and Use

In 1965, the average annual Passamaquoddy family income was estimated at $430 per capita. Indian agent's orders, welfare, and fruits of the chase somewhat augmented the incredibly low standard of living, but did nothing toward teaching anyone how to handle a family budget. Today reservation employment has risen, with a concomitant rise in the cash income of almost every family. The newness of this situation cannot be overstressed: people now have actual cash income to manage. That they do not always manage it very adroitly should come as no surprise.

The largest part of the family income today goes for groceries, which reflects not only high food costs but the deprivations of the past. Careful shopping and elimination of "junk foods" is practiced by very few when a paycheck is in hand, and no consumer courses have been taught on the reservations to date.

Because of economic conditions, Indians in Maine were as a group poorly dressed until recently. When they became news worthy, boxes and even truckloads of used clothing poured in, usually to be distributed by the church. They are still arriving. But the people who three years ago eagerly sought out usable items from these donations ignore them today--to the puzzlement of the donors who have heard that Indians are poor. They are poor, but not as poor as they were; after groceries, they spend their new money on clothes for themselves and their children. This is very important, especially to the young people, who until recently were shabbily dressed compared with white children in the neighboring towns and high school. (An attitude survey showed as one of the reasons why local white children were glad they weren't Indian was that whites had nicer clothes.)

Another result of improved income is the number of telephones installed on the reservations. Three years ago there was only a public pay phone at each settlement and in each CAP office. Today there are about twenty phones in various homes. Home improvements have been made by some families, but any extra income is more likely to be spent on bigger and better television sets, tape players, and other luxuries.

Unfortunately, many of these items are bought on time from local price-gougers, at exorbitant interest rates.

In general, one could say that the spending of the new income is done from the belly outwards, with the last consideration being the exterior of one's home; the effects of the new relative prosperity cannot be observed on a casual drive through the reservation.

The idea of savings and investments for an individual family are completely foreign. With or without consumer education, it is doubtful that this aspect of financial management will ever take hold. On the tribal level, investment of profits from an enterprise such as the Basket Co-op would be very hard to accomplish until everyone on the reservation is well off. It can be predicted that if the Basket Co-op or other enterprise should make profits above payroll and overhead, the surplus would not be invested but everyone would receive a pay increase. The only conceivable way around this disinclination to invest would be to write into laws and grant awards the requirement that certain percentages of profits would be seeded back into the enterprise. Even this move would have to be carefully explained and jointly approved by the tribe. Passamaquoddy life has had a "here and now" immediacy that will be eradicated only by many years of prosperity--and "economic development" means something rather different on the reservation than it does in Washington, D.C.

Products, Services and Markets

Products

Most of the manufactured products of the Passamaquoddy reservations are made at home in cottage industries.

Pleasant Point, on the coast, specializes in "scale baskets" for commerical use in the nearby fisheries. These baskets are used in collecting fish scales for the manufacture of "pearlescence," an irridescent substance used in nail polish, buttons, and fake pearls. The men at Pleasant Point usually make these heavy-duty baskets, which withstand repeated soaking and abuse. The market varies according to the catch and as the fishermen search for basket substitutes that might cost them less than $8. Usually, however, they return to the superior Passamaquoddy baskets. Many laundry and pack baskets are also made on this reservation, again mostly by men, who generally work on the heavy utilitarian items. Women at Pleasant Point make the more colorful fancy baskets, which incorporate salt-water sweet grass in the design. The "fancy" items include sewing baskets, jewelry baskets, tissue holders, wastebaskets, pin-cushions and even toy cradles. One Pleasant Point woman has had a contract with the state for many years to make pie baskets, which are filled with Maine products and presented to miscellaneous dignitaries who visit the state.

Leather, shell, and bead pendants are also made at Pleasant Point, as are birch-bark toys and wastebaskets, carved warclubs, and other knick-knacks. All are made at home by individuals or by familes.

Marine products are gathered at Pleasant Point, and one man has a Small Business Administration loan for a lobstering operation. Although he is the only Indian lobstering at present, there has been talk of pressing for exclusive fishing rights off the coast of the reservation, and if this is accomplished more might take up lobstering. Another family has two fish weirs and does a fairly good business.

Pleasant Point people also make Christmas wreaths in season, as do their counterparts at Indian Township, but they have the added problem of having to make a 100-mile round trip to obtain raw materials. Nevertheless, one man at this reservation has been a prime distributor of the wreaths for years.

Other products produced here, such as firewood holders and medicinal herbs, play a minor role in the economy.

At Indian Township, manufactured products are similar to those of Pleasant Point, but there are more extensive products because of the more varied land and forest base.

In the basket industry there are more women than one finds at Pleasant Point. Perhaps this is because more of the Indian Township men are involved in cutting ash for raw basket materials. In any case, because fewer men make baskets, fewer heavy utility items are produced, although the Basket Co-op is producing some laundry baskets for the army. The women make many fancy baskets similar to those at Pleasant Point. Although Indian Township has fewer market outlets the demand is invariably greater than the supply.

Beadwork and leatherwork are produced with increasing skill and frequency at Indian Township, and a resurgence of competent carving is taking place among some of the men and older boys Two men in particular are deft at making lightweight canoe paddles and rustic furniture of ash. They also make snowshoes, albeit rarely Many novelty carved toys are made here, and finger-weaving was recently reintroduced, resulting in proliferation of belts and headbands, which are worn locally and sold in craft fairs around the state

During hunting season, "Sports" (white city hunters) often come to the reservation and pay up to $150 for a deer or $100 for a bear, in order to return victorious to suburbia. This trophy game can be considered another reservation product.

Although the fur trade is assumed to have ended in the 1700's, it persists in attenuated form. Nearly every family on Indian Township reservation relies on the fur trade for some small augmenting of income in the winter A buyer from the neighboring town comes every week to purchase what has accumulated since his last visit. He pays $1 for a deer hide, $2 for a muskrat pelt, $50 for beaver, and $75 to $80 for mink. The obvious profit that someone is making on deer hides causes one to speculate on the profits that are being made (not by Indians,) on beaver and mink. The Passamaquoddy have found it impossible to eliminate the middleman; fur companies will not deal directly with the reservations.

Services

The Passamaquoddy provide outsiders with some services, such as chair rushing and caning, making wood holders and rustic furnture on order, and performing miscellaneous odd jobs and carpentry. But by far the greatest number of services are provided within the tribe on an exchange basis, although cash transactions for services between tribal members are rare.

Tribal members provide one another with many kinds of services, including woodcutting, cooking, barbering, carpentry, making axe handles and canoe paddles, transportation, baskets and beadwork supplies or products, and occasional gardening. In the exchange of these services, the general rule requires return of equal value or equal time. Professional mourners who sing old Indian songs at funerals provide another kind of service, usually paid for in food.

Medicine is a special area of service. The sick person appeals to one knowledgeable in herbal lore for a diagnosis and a cure. One must "give up something" for the medicine to work, and this may vary according to the ability of the sick person to pay. A pack of cigaretts might suffice, or a small cash payment, or some other tangible thing; but even if one is a friend or a close relative of the curer, something must be offered for the medicine. Otherwise, a cure cannot be effected.

On the day-to-day level, there is a complex borrowing system. For example, a person who runs short of bread or sugar may borrow from a friend or a neighbor, but to actively repay this loan in kind would be to degrade the lender. Therefore, care is taken to avoid obviously repaying him, lest it be implied that he is ungenerous. Eventually, the original lender will run short of something of equal value and will borrow from the original borrower. A gauzy network of mutual obligations is thus build up, often crossing traditional faction lines. This borrowing system, then, also serves as a social cement.

There is also an underground system of services that involves alcoholics, bootleggers, the Indian agent, and the reservation man-on-the-street. It works this way: the alcoholic cadges an order for clothing, groceries, or house repair money from the Indian agent (who by necessity must be torn about whether or not to assist this obviously needy person). The alcoholic makes his purchases, perhaps keeps some, but usually sells all he acquired at very low rates. His goods are bought by the reservation man-on-the street, who can ill afford to turn down a real bargain. The alcoholic then takes his small profit and goes to a bootlegger on the reservation, who will sell him cheap wine or beer at inflated prices. The alcoholic, of course, is the loser, but he doesn't see it that way. Everyone has "beaten the system"--a favorite pastime of any red-blooded Passamaquoddy--so there is a psychological as well as an economic gain all around.

The fact that there is profit, challenge, reward, and structure explains why attempts to rid the reservations of bootleggers have always failed. Alcoholism is a serious problem, about which most people are increasingly concerned; but leaders who attempt to remove the bootleggers are subtly resisted, because too many people directly benefit from their presence. (On the other hand, leaders are also condemned if they don't try to eliminate the bootleggers.) Clearly, substitute elements should be inserted into the system, to replace alcohol and the bootlegger--but no one yet has figured out what these substitutes might be.

Markets

Most of the handicrafts produced on the reservations, except for the commercial utility baskets, are sold to other reservation members, who either use them, give them as gifts, or resell them to gift shops, A few things are sold to tourists through the Basket Co-ops on each reservation, and near Pleasant Point many items are bought up by local white merchants who run "Indian Trading Posts." Some Passamaquoddy items also find their way to stores on the Penobscot reserve. Lately several Maine crafts groups are carrying Passamaquoddy handicrafts and would probably take more if they could get them, and increasingly, articles are sold at summer New England craft fairs. Each reservation has a summer festival or "Pow-wow" where items are also sold but there are never enough to meet the demand.

The commercial baskets (scale, pack, and laundry) are bought, respectively, by local fishermen, L. L. Bean Camper Supply in Freeport, Maine, and by the U. S. Army. The potential market for Passamaquoddy baskets is far greater than the amount produced. If production were increased, many other markets would be possible. Museums, for example, usually have poor collections from the northeast, and most would welcome representative quality samples of splint-and-sweetgrass basketry. (The Bureau of Indian Affairs outlet carries some Passamaquoddy items now.) Various "Indian shops" around the country would also carry northeastern baskets if they could get them, and several outlets in New England that deal only in baskets have indicated they would take orders. Visitors from Denmark were certain the baskets would sell in Scandinavian countries, where there is great interest in American Indians and a fondness for handcrafted items. The Passamaquoddy could also have their own outlets at tourist complexes, if they ever get them. Not least, they could expand their repertoire of toys and Christmas ornaments and do very well with these, as there is a steady demand for the few items that are produced.

Christmas wreaths presently are sold cheaply, but with better contacts the tribe could probably make a profit. Some wreaths are sold to a Passamaquoddy who delivers them to Connecticut, but many others are bought by non-Passamaquoddy middlemen and taken to Boston, where they sell for much more than when they are purchased from Indians. Decorated wreaths fetch still more, and if it could be arranged to bring several Passamaquoddy to the city for a week or so of concentrated work, they could themselves do the decorating and reap the profits.

The fur trade is another area where Indians might conceivably increase profits by dealing directly. In addition, if they were trained to tan deer hides as they did in the past, they could afford to manufacture all manner of deerskin items and sell them at a handsome profit. As it is, many more people would engage in leather work if they could afford the leathers; the present arrangement (selling an untanned deerskin for $1, but paying $20 for a tanned one from the leather company) makes leather-work prohibitive for most.

The seafood industry at Pleasant Point could probably be augmented. It was suggested recently that the Pleasant Point Passamaquoddy might also engage in the preparation of biological ocean specimens for educational purposes. So far nothing has come of this suggestion, and nothing will, unless the proper equipment and training are made available.

There is a greater market for Indian hunting and fishing guides than there are guides. Because guides in Maine are required to have a license, perhaps this market could be better filled by giving courses in guiding for young Passamaquoddy men. Certainly there is good money in guiding, and Indian Township is surrounded by some of the best hunting and fishing territory in the northeast. Here, then, is one more undeveloped market that could be tapped by the tribe.

Another potential market is the production and processing of "fiddlehead" ferns, which grow along brooks and rivers in the area and harvested by hand when they are still coiled in "fiddlehead" form. They are laborious to clean but make a delicious gourmet vegetable; bright green, slightly crunchy, and tasting like delicate asparagus. They are processed in nearby New Brunswick and sold frozen in standard sized boxes for about 98 cents a box. Gourmet restaurants in New York are the main buyers, in addition to local enthusiasts who can't wait until spring. The Passamaquoddy and Penobscot enthusiastically gather fiddleheads every spring for home consumption, for fiddleheads are a native Indian dish. A program to farm, freeze, and promote these delicacies would probably produce a good market.

Problems

The problems the Passamaquoddy have with products, services, and markets all return to a single factor: demand is greater than supply. This may be caused by lack of business and marketing experience, by the need for immediate cash (which causes people to sell to whomever buys first rather than to those who would pay a fair price), by inability to get raw materials when they are needed (particularly in basketry), by lack of personnel (related to lack of jobs), by lack of operating capital to get started, and by the existence of factions that interfere with the smooth operation of the programs that could help in these matters. However, the talent and the possibilities are all there. It only remains for the Passamaquoddy people and those who would help them to become sensitized to how the Passamaquoddy economy can best be developed. This, in turn, requires an honest appraisal of the problems. What is Passamaquoddy culture really like? And how can one swim with the cultural stream instead of against it, in the implementation of economic development programs?

Psycho-Social Factors Affecting Work Patterns and Economic Development

The work habits of the Passamaquoddy are geared to periods of intense activity, followed by relaxation and enjoyment of the fruits of labor. This pattern is probably a remnant of pre-colonial times when the rigors of winter demanded serious attention to hunting, while the abundant summer allowed a season of relative relaxation and socializing; the pattern was reinforced in later periods up to the recent past, when employment other than seasonal work was difficult or impossible to secure. The sporadic Passamaquoddy work pattern and seasonal-cycle approach to labor is diametrically opposed to the Puritan work ethic of this country, and particularly of the Maine towns surrounding the reservation.

Despite the criticism of neighboring whites about Indian work habits, production in any Passamaquoddy endeavor goes up in direct relation to the flexibility of the work schedule. A case in point was a wreath-making project at the Indian Township Basket Co-op two years ago. On the initial "sensible" schedule of work hours--from 8 to 5--production was very low and only a trickle of wreaths were produced, despite good wages, good working conditions, and supplied materials. (Previously, wreath-making had always been done at home.) When the hour restrictions were dropped and the building remained open from 7 a.m. to midnight, production soared--even though many people worked in the formerly shunned 8-to-5 time slot. Choice and freedom are everything!

The disinclination to be regimented is stronger in some Passamaquoddy than in others, and a few tribesmen are notable in both the Indian and white communities for their fine work records in local mills. People in the white community see these workers as "good Indians," but other Passamaquoddy admire them for being "good providers" (i.e., they have stable incomes) more than for being "steady workers."

Passamaquoddy work patterns also differ from those of whites in that they are oriented toward the present rather than the future. A Passamaquoddy generally works for today to live for today; if anything is put away for the future, it is for a real, soon-to-be-realized future, not a theoretical one. With many people this attitude affects job training incentive. One is what one is, yet everything is subject to change--one may be something else tomorrow. Thus, why train for something one may never become?

In actuality, however, many people have had training of some sort and have successfully used it. Almost always the accepted training had the immediate reward of on-the-job training pay. More people might be encouraged to seek training if all job training programs offered pay with training, had the same pay scale, and were in accord with local wages, and if trainees were actively assisted with placement or were helped in starting their own enterprises on the reservation.

Finally, the planning required for the tribe to set up a program, seek funding, and organize its operation takes a tremendous amount of psychological energy, both because of inexperience in this realm, and because such planning goes against the pre-existing natural order of Passamaquoddy life. The tribe has, in seeking help in the approved manner, made a major concession to the methods of an alien culture. Isn't it then asking too much that it also be required to meet "guidelines" and restrictions from that alien culture that cause factionalism and discontent in its own? The benefits presently cost too high a price, and the results are far less than they might be if the Passamaquoddy expended less energy in serving two masters.

Social Obligations

Social obligations vary from family to family. In general, however, people rally behind a family leader who looks out for his own when he can. Brothers and sisters also have close ties and help each other where possible. And finally, tribal leaders and program directors are expected to distribute goods, jobs, and funds as widely as possible throughout the tribe.

Into this realm of social obligations come the program guidelines, which usually provide a limited number of "job slots" and rules forbidding nepotism. Much better would be programs in which the tribal council assigned job-slot quotas to families--perhaps according to the number of potential workers available in the family. A job slot then could be filled by more than one family member on an alternating basis to be determined by each family. The family head would still be in a position to help out particularly needy family members, and leaders would not be forced to walk the tightrope that is presently strung between the reservation and the federal government.

The personal world view still obtains among the Passamaquoddy. "Nepotism" is a means of survival, evil only because it is at the center of a cultural conflict.

The Idea of Limited Good

A useful concept was developed by George Foster at the University of California, (Berkeley), which he called "The Idea of Limited Good." The essence of the idea is that "more for you means less for me"--the cultural idea, in other words, that all good things are limited. Foster's use of the term was in the context of peasant villages in Latin America versus "outsiders." Among the Passamaquoddy the idea exists on an individual, or more especially, on a family basis. Such an idea mitigates against the development of improved production methods and profit-increasing techniques, because in this context "getting ahead" becomes an aggressive act against one's neighbors. The idea of limited good prevails among the Passamaquoddy as a whole, leading to an intensive pressure to level everyone to the same relative economic condition. It is a major obstacle to economic development. For this reason, it was previously stated that unless the standard of living of the entire tribe can be raised at once, there will be bitter resentment and attempts to thwart the person who succeeds over others.

The idea of limited good is intimately connected to the factionalism between lineage groups, and it also explains why the even distribution of goods, and jobs throughout the reservation community is the only assurance that one man's--or one family's--gain is not another's loss. Poverty and want have intensified the idea of limited good, and this non-productive cultural element contributes to the problem. More than anything else, it perpetuates the cycle of poverty.

Federal programs have further exacerbated the idea, guaranteeing at least partial defeat of their aims at the outset. The limited job slots of a program, for example, are perfect monuments to the limited good idea. If a program director is from a major faction, he is practically certain to aid his own group over others, making factional divisions even more bitter. If he is from a minor faction, a "third party", he is in a position to play both sides against each other, promising jobs to this one and that one. By community standards, the only way to be "fair" is either to give everyone a job at once and prematurely exhaust program funds, or to rotate community members through positions, firing and hiring by a system only another Passamaquoddy can comprehend. The suggestions is here reiterated, then, that at least some of these problems could be alleviated if the council could assign jobs to families as a whole; this would at least distribute the "good" to every group, and the decisions would be inter-familial rather than between lineage factions.

Finally, the constant shuffling of federal programs (available one year and not the next; funded one time and defunded the next) further fulfills the basic tenet: that good is limited and all grace is transitory.

The only answer--except for an ideal and consistantly generous federal government--is the development of a viable Passamaquoddy Economic Development Program that would exist through time and beyond the winds of political change. Such a program would involve the whole community and would be run by the community--ideally, by using tribal practices constructively instead of considering them a detriment, as is presently the case. Eventually, as business acumen developed and income for everyone improved, the idea of limited good might recede to a manageable size and be put away on the cultural shelf. The Passamaquoddy might then recognize that there could be "more for us all."

Anti-work Incentives

What reasons can be given to explain why some Passamaquoddies, as the white local townsmen would have it, "don't want to work?"

Because work in itself is not a virtue to a Passamaquoddy, other things will have an equal or greater priority in his mind. Some of these other priorities may also make good economic sense. For example, to the man who doesn't come to work but goes fishing, fishing is not only enjoyable--it also brings food to his table and probably to someone else's as well. If he sells some fish, this also brings him monetary profit. In any case, the fish may not always be available and may have to be caught in season. Should he wait, merely because of a job that goes on indefinitely and that will still be there after the fish have gone? Usually, the answer is "no". Flexible work hours would work well in such a situation. But prior to federal programs the only steady jobs Passamaquoddy had were in the white community, so they have used its standards as a norm in setting up their own hours of work. Perhaps work hours could be re-thought by the Passamaquoddy in their own terms, in all programs, as they were in the Passamaquoddy-run wreath enterprise. This would eliminate at least one existing anti-work incentive.

Many Passamaquoddy value freedom over regimentation or being tied down, even if this choice means poverty. Only jobs that are changing in content, location, and hours would appeal to them. People with this type of "occupational claustrophobia" would perhaps adapt best to the varied jobs provided by a home-based tourist development, which would allow considerable variety in hours and work.

Another anti-work incentive is the poor self-image that has been generated by 300 years of poverty, paternalism, and discrimination. A generally prevailing attitude is that, "Oh, an Indian couldn't do this (or that) anyway." This ineffective image is slowly dissolving, as more and more Passamaquoddy find they can indeed "do it." Programs that are feasible, and that don't run counter to community practice, make for more confident managers and directors. The more culturally manageable programs there are, then, the better it will be for the Passamaquoddy's self-image as a capable people.

An area that surely touches on production and the area of anti-work incentives is health. There is widespread incidence of debilitating health problems such as tooth infections, anemia, diabetes, respiratory ailments, ulcers, alcoholism, and sight and hearing disorders. Economic development will inevitably have to consider the physical person, if it is to overcome the major obstacle of unattended health problems, which invariably affect the performance of the whole community.

The teenage dropout is yet another work-incentive problem. Federal programs invariably require workers and trainees to be 18 years old, except for the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which requires that the employee be enrolled in school. In a community with a dropout rate of 90 to 95 percent, this means that many able-bodied young people between 15 and 18 have virtually nothing to do. What the young people do do, then, is drink with their friends and finish developing a sense of social impotence, which their brush with schools in the white world has already implanted. They also learn to beg grocery orders from the Indian agent and to steal the things that they cannot earn money to buy; many of them set out on the downhill road into alcoholism. Yet all around them are trainee jobs of various kinds: Concentrated Employment Programs they cannot enter, Vocational Training requires them to be 18, and jobs in the world outside that demand a high school diploma. Economically and psychologically, they are a burden to themselves and to the community. After "bumming around" for several years, is it any wonder that many of these young people, on turning 18, no longer have any interest in taking advantage of the programs and jobs offered? Here, then, is one of the most misguided aspects of federal programs. The age rule in federal programs does not work to keep young people in school; it merely makes their almost inevitable dropping out more debilitating than it needs to be, and kills off whatever ambitions and work incentives they once might have had.

Other anti-work incentives occur at the management level. Directors or managers are constantly caught between program guidelines and community practice. Frequently they are subjected to having to administer a program in which a major element has not been funded, so that ultimately nothing works--in what might be called the "fan-belt effect." (With a defunct fan-belt, nothing in a car works right, and it soon won't run: just as without working capital, the Basket Co-op won't run.) Managers thus become frustrated, quit, and often move off the reservation where their talents can better be put to use.

Another anti-work incentive is the lack of community cohesion, which has several sources, among them the rivalry created by many of the federal programs. The Mainstream program produced some community improvements, but not nearly as many as it might have. Part of the trouble can be traced to the factionalism that Mainstream itself engendered because of hiring policies and limited positions, in what everyone knew was a "make-work" program, anyway.

As one watches the panorama of programs, classes, and other recent innovations on the reservations, few are seen that do not create some kind of disruption. But the few that have really worked show that there is, under all, a latent but strong sense of community. This sense of community, which is waiting to be nurtured and developed, could be the most important factor of Passamaquoddy economic development. The potential is obvious in certain joint efforts of community-wide concern, planning, and execution that were the binding forces of Passamaquoddy life in recent years. (Significantly, none were related to federal programs, except in the sense that federal programs provided a sense of importance and control over their destinies.) The unifying activities were the strike against Georgia-Pacific, the road blockage against the state, the initiation of the land case, and the summer dance pageants.

The most successful program from "outside" has probably been "Bermuda North," an annual craft program instituted by the Newman Apostolate of Bowdoin College. Community cooperation and morale is extremely high during "Bermuda North" every year, somehow (and one suspects it was through sensitivity to the Passamaquoddy and their culture), the Bowdoin group has done what almost no other has: They have brought in a program from "outside" that really works on the reservation. Their successful operation has been based on the following points:

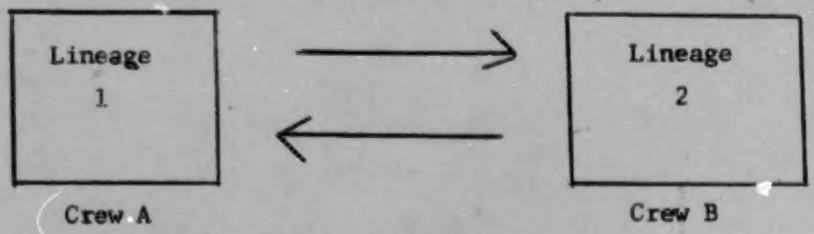
1. Including the total community--all lineages, both sexes, all ages.
2. Fostering the sense of community cooperation and sharing. Sit-down dinners in the parish hall have augmented the sense of community involvement.
3. Bolstering Passamaquoddy self-image by stressing Indian heritage and Passamaquoddy ability to produce superior craft products.
4. Providing variety in instruction and choice of crafts.
5. Providing adequate instructions.
6. Taking a total program approach by leaving no gaps--enough supplies, alternative offerings, and so forth.
7. Providing a sense of continuity--by leaving supplies behind (craft items, guitars, leather, cloth, a treadle sewing machine for every home) and by reliably returning each year.
8. Sending representatives who are flexible, sensitive, and well trained.

9. *Consulting with the tribal council at every phase of planning and actively enrolling its assistance in administrating the program.*

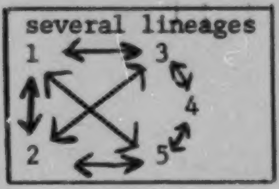
With donated materials, a minimum of funding, and a maximum of sensitivity to the realities of the Passamaquoddy community, Bowdoin's "Bermuda North" has done more, and done it better, than many heavily funded programs. Through its success, we may glimpse possibilities as yet unrealized for the Passamaquoddy community.

Pro-Work Incentives

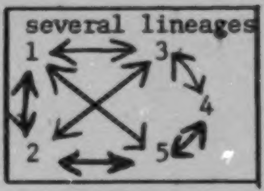
One kind of work incentive is created by competition between lineage groups: for example, if one family is doing particularly well at woods operations members of another lineage may set out to exceed them. If the first family discontinues the work, however, the second may also, because competition is now removed. Therefore, lineage competition can be both constructive or destructive in any given economic endeavor, depending on how the force is channeled. It would be advantageous, for example, to have competing woods crews composed of single lineages, but utterly disadvantageous to have two or more crews, each composed of several lineages. The latter could expectably result in competition within the crew, rather than the cooperation necessary. To illustrate:



Ex. I: Constructive Competition



Crew C



Crew D

Ex. 2: Destructive Competition

In the implementation of federal programs on the Passamaquoddy reservations, and elsewhere in Indian communities, lineage rivalry has not been acknowledged or used constructively. Even Indians have not generally tried to approach the matter openly, perhaps through fear of loss of funding, or of revealing inner conflicts to outsiders. Nevertheless, if the matter were dealt with squarely, both economic development and community relations might well be improved. In the Passamaquoddy Basket Co-op, for example, an ideal arrangement would be for the community-owned co-op to receive funds and give out mini-grants of equal value to lineages for the year's craft supplies. The co-op could then buy back finished products throughout the year, for resale whenever the best market was available. In this way family rivalry could be channeled into producing the most or the best crafts, or creating new lines of craft items. This system would also serve as an incentive for families to specialize and perfect those crafts in which they have a special interest.

Another work incentive is the hope of income coupled with independence. Trades that require independence or self-management are considered more desirable than those that require working "under" someone. Hunting, trapping, or guiding are traditional pursuits, which have the qualities sought in a job by many Passamaquoddy. The freedom not to work at all is in itself a work incentive, in the sense that an occupation that occasionally allows this option is more desired than one that does not. Noting this, it would seem that training groups of Passamaquoddy to be ship's welders (who must leave the reservation and work under someone else in rigid time patterns) is less practical than training for jobs that can be performed on or near the reservation, with a measure of independence. Such jobs might include occupations that are scarce in the county--auto mechanics, electricians, carpenters, and plumbers; or trades connected with maintaining a sports-tourist complex--boat and snow-mobile repair, laundromat operation, garage management, camp ground maintenance, guides, and craft entrepreneurs..

Passamaquoddy women work as productively and as steadily as the men, if not more so, and are increasingly interested in employment. Federal programs should give attention to training by providing child-care facilities on the reservation. Passamaquoddy women, who are strong in both character and muscle, could perform a wide variety of jobs if they were trained. (Often, in fact, the woman gives work incentive to her husband, urging him to provide the family a decent living standard, or to "get ahead." Indeed, a man who is not pressured by his woman is less likely to be found at his job than one who is.) Many Passamaquoddy women already have the incentive to work--but they have little chance for training that can be used on the reservation, and scant hope of obtaining a child-care center in the near future. The problem is not so much one of motivation as it is of the tendency to see women as a kind of cultural wallpaper, rather than as viable human resources.

Another work incentive is common among Passamaquoddy young men, who--like other young men--would like to have cash to enjoy themselves and to impress their peers. Much of this motivation, as previously noted, disappears during the years of "under eighteen" ineligibility--often for good. Personal or family crises provide some of the most common incentive to work, but it is difficult to see how this type of incentive could fit into an economic development plan.

Finally, some Passamaquoddy are highly self-motivated to "get ahead" and to make a decent living, and they work reasonably well in "white" work situations. These Passamaquoddy are a group apart; they are often viewed by others as inordinately greedy, for they infringe--or seem to--on the "limited good." As a result, they sometimes move off the reservation. On or off the reservation, however, these people maintain friendships with each other that transcend traditional kin boundaries. Often in their backgrounds is an uncommonly difficult childhood, considerable intelligence, and more than ordinary outside contact and travel. This a typical group is viewed by other community members with a mixture of respect and resentment; members of the group are often either in leadership positions or are working toward them.

Personal Goals

Until very recently, it was impossible for most Passamaquoddy to exercise a choice in either economic or educational realms, and the fact that some choice is now possible has not really registered. As a result, personal goals--as they would be conceived in a white community--are ill-defined at best. Most people have some vague hope of having a good life economically, perhaps a house, and the respect of others; but a lack of experience in planning or even thinking about personal goals prevents them from either formulating or working toward goals of any but the most day-to-day kind. This may account, in part, for the low interest in formal education.

Many of the goals a Passamaquoddy might form are possible only if he or she leaves the reservation. This necessitates a sacrifice of both security and identity--a high price, indeed. As a result, few Passamaquoddy dream of a "career", except in times of crisis, when they might say, "Why didn't I become this, or that?" In good times, though, they will not be career-minded, and may even pass up training in the career they have coveted during crisis periods. Most Passamaquoddy have little or no idea about saving or sacrificing to achieve a personal goal; history, culture, and fatalism have seen to that.. There is little likelihood of a change, furthermore, in the forseeable future. Therefore, programs that attempt to stress career planning, pensions, etc. will fare less well than those which hold forth immediate personal rewards, freedom, and variety.

Tribal Goals

The Passamaquoddy have been devoid of voice and of choice for several hundred years, yet an unspoken tribal goal has persisted: the goal simply to endure. Many predictions have come and gone about the supposedly vanishing Passamaquoddy people and culture, but objective evidence tells another story. They are still here, and their numbers are growing. They are not as they once were, true. But who is? The Passamaquoddy no longer daily wear feathers, any more than whites still wear pilgrim buckles; yet each culture has retained its essential core, even though it has borrowed extensively from the other. As the minority group--religiously, historically, and racially--the Passamaquoddy have been, and are still, subject to unrelenting pressures to become assimilated (or, in Anglo-language, "like us"). Instead, they have sifted the outside elements through their cultural screen, retaining what they could profitably use while tossing out the rest. Today the goal of cultural persistence, stronger than ever, is expressed in a keen interest in tribal lore, dances, songs, history, crafts, and language. Today it is no longer enough simply to endure: now one must endure with dignity and pride.

The federal programs that first sparked some hope of self-determination also gave a measure of self-respect, despite the fact that by outside objective standards many of the programs "failed." Actually, they never failed at all; they were only badly judged, and for the wrong things. Today adults in their late twenties and early thirties are the ones promoting Passamaquoddy language, culture, and history; they are the people who are both old enough to remember growing up ashamed to be Indian and young enough to remember when the shame was transformed into pride. That pride, once fragile, is fragile no more. It has grown strong, feeding on new knowledge and new self-respect.

The primary tribal goal today is "independence," particularly from the state. The land case represents a move in that direction and is not simply a legal exercise. In a cosmic sense, it is both a symbol of all that was lost and all that might be gained. White observers who think the main Passamaquoddy motive is a cash settlement have woefully misunderstood. What does matter, to the exclusion of nearly everything else, is the land itself and all it represents--historically and spiritually. Winning the case would have economic usefulness, true, but the real victory would be moral. It would prove that the Passamaquoddy have been wronged, and that they have held on, asserted themselves, and ultimately prevailed; in short, that they are a people to be reckoned with.

The tools necessary for dealing with independence have not had a chance to develop over the years of forced dependence on the state. Therefore, the most difficult lesson--that every freedom bears a responsibility--is slowly being learned today. Some people, of course, want the benefits of self-determination without the work it inherently entails; but natural leaders are constantly emerging who are proving increasingly adept at their tasks, despite an almost total lack of experience. Self-doubts about capabilities are diminishing, too, as individuals learn that they are indeed capable persons.

The Passamaquoddy pitch for federal recognition is tied to the land suit, and to them it does not seem antithetical to the dream of independence, for they plan to insist on considerable autonomy. Should they win the case, they will be in a position where they will *not* need the BIA economically and may choose to be terminated. Or, if they lose the case but win recognition, they will be better off under the lumbering BIA than under the bumbling State.

Loss of the land case, however, would have chaotic effects on Passamaquoddy morale, for in their hearts they have always known the land is theirs. To be officially told it is not would be a devastating psychological blow, whose effects would be hard to predict.

Red and White Goals in Opposition

Irving Hallowell has said that people with different culture patterns live in different orders of reality. Perhaps this is why programs designed for red men by white men even those with the best of intentions, don't work. Indeed, even the conclusion that a program "didn't work" is culturally determined; it may, as far as the program recipients are concerned, have worked very well.

The Passamaquoddy of Indian Township would not agree, for example, that the apparently chaotic Operation Mainstream Program "didn't work." Even though guidelines were largely ignored, threats rumbled periodically from the granting agency, and the director ultimately lost his job--many people in a largely jobless area had sporadic income for several years, everyone's house got painted, some costumes and baskets were made, and best of all, people had some rare spending money for relatively little effort. The program failed? Never!

By the standards of the program planners, however, Operation Mainstream on the Passamaquoddy reserves was a disaster arrived at through an unremitting series of crises. People were fired and hired (seemingly at random), budgets were consistently overspent, nepotism was rampant, nearly every guideline was ignored, steady work habits were not established as had been hoped, and visible community improvement was slight. After all these trials the Passamaquoddy were not one iota closer to the "Mainstream of American Life," and worst of all, they didn't even seem to care. The program, viewed from the intended goals of the creators, was an unmitigated flop.

It is apparent, in Mainstream and other examples, that not only were the goals different between the two cultures at the outset, but the results were inevitably judged differently. While the federal planners might say, "Here was a program. Did it produce the desired results?" A Passamaquoddy might say, "Here was a program. What did it do for us while it lasted?"

Certain sentiments and hopes for the downtrodden are implicit in most federal programs, but these fine sentiments are also culturally tinged. It is as if the planners were saying, "We really want you to succeed; but there are certain ways you must go about succeeding, and furthermore, we will define what success is."

Some of the sentiments implicit in program guidelines are: Effective management must be developed. A good man should be assisted to get ahead. Steady work habits are essential to success. Career interests should be encouraged and developed. Planning for the future is a good and necessary thing. Surplus capital from tribal enterprises should be invested to produce even further tribal profits. All people--

including minorities--of a development area should work together in the common cause. People should be self-sufficient and able to stand on their own two feet.

Passamaquoddy assumptions, taken in a parallel fashion are quite different: Managers and management by definition are distasteful necessities, which are required only as long as the job at hand exists. Trying to "get ahead" is in bad taste. Steady work is a bore--variety and choice are more important. People change and fortunes change, so why plan a career? Planning for the future usually proves futile, because one never knows what will happen. Surplus capital produced by the tribe should result in higher wages all around. Indians are Indians and really don't have a common cause with other groups. It is good to live near friends and relatives who will tide you over the bad times.

Both points of view make sense when couched in their own cultural contexts, but out of context they may appear perverse. This is why the "white" goals embedded in most federal programs, even though applied in blind good faith, must inevitably be seen as cultural perversions by the Passamaquoddy. It is the reason guidelines are ignored. It is the reason programs "don't work." It is one reason aspirin sales have increased.

The solution to this dilemma is laughably simple, and has been suggested more than once by Indian people in general, and Vine Deloria in particular: Free the funds and give them to the tribes; then let each tribe do its own thing, in its own way--for its own reasons.

Management

Almost all of the Passamaquoddy enterprises requiring management are government funded. Office of Economic Opportunity funds are managed by the Community Action Program (CAP) director on each reservation. The CAP director does not have to be the tribal chief, although this arrangement has already become almost custom. The tribal council won status as CAP boards of directors in a pitched battle with OEO. The CAP director's job is one of the most important on the reservation and one of the best paid. The directorship generally strengthens the role of chief, while the chiefship gives support to CAP projects. If the chief does not support some CAP aims (as perhaps spelled out in a previous political period on the reservation), he is also in a position as CAP director to hold up projects.

Some Department of Labor funds are managed by the Operation Mainstream director, who is generally faced with problems originating in limited funds, job slots, and the creation of jobs. Mainstream seems to operate in fits and starts, sometimes accomplishing really useful tasks on the reservation, sometimes foundered by problems.

Other Department of Labor funds are managed through the Opportunity Industrialization Center program (OIC), which contracts with different agencies to guarantee jobs and adequate training or retraining. Ideally, the needs of the community are assessed, and funds for training are supplied accordingly. OIC is presently preparing some Passamaquoddy for jobs in the forthcoming housing development project sponsored by the Housing and Urban Development Administration (HUD).

Each reservation has a Passamaquoddy Housing Authority, which manages the funds of HUD and deals with housing development, water and sewage treatment, and community planning.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) on each reservation is sponsored federally by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and locally by the Maine State Department of Education. NYC, which provides some Passamaquoddy youth with after-school, vacation, and summer jobs, is directed by a Passamaquoddy adult on each reservation.

The Passamaquoddy Basket Co-op has a branch on each reservation and requires managers in both places. The manager's salary is paid by the local CAP agency, as are a few of the Co-op's operating expenses. The Co-op's board of directors, however, are chosen by the workers and not by the CAP board. The American Freedom From Hunger Foundation formerly funded some operations of the Basket Co-ops, but do so no longer; Operation Mainstream labor is being used presently, but this is not a permanent arrangement. The lack of funding sources, and the diversity of those available, makes managment of the Co-ops a tricky job.

The newly formed Passamaquoddy school boards perform a very complex type of management and do it very well, considering the total lack of previous experience in this realm. School board members must sort out laws and regulations (some of which conflict) relative to Indians, Mainers in "unorganized territory," the state education department, and guidelines of federally sponsored programs such as Head Start, the Hot Lunch Program, and Bi-Lingual Education Program. The regulations and customs of the Catholic Church must also be considered. School board members, all new to their work, have walked headlong into a net made of threads running from the state and federal governments, the reservation itself, the Department of Education, and the Catholic Church.

The managment job par excellence, of course, goes to the chief and his council, who must coordinate, as far as possible, all the preceding activities and many more besides.

Selection of Management

Chiefs and councils, the ultimate reservation managers, are elected by the tribe at large every two years, in secret ballot vote. The turnout of eligible tribal voters is generally very high, and tribal political races are often close; generally, the councils are quite representative of the community at large. Chiefs may stay in office for years, or turnover may be frequent.

The Housing Authority on each reservation is appointed by the local chief and approved by the council; the Authority then chooses its chairman. The tribal council appoints the Operation Mainstream director and NYC directors. The council originally appointed the tribal school board, which now is elected at large for staggered terms.

The manager of the Basket Co-op is presently chosen by the CAP board of directors (which is also the tribal council). This arrangement pertains only as long as the Co-op receives CAP funds; should the Co-op become self sustaining, and therefore able to pay the manager, CAP will have no further powers of appointment. Instead, he will be appointed by the board of directors of the Co-op, who are chosen in turn by the workers.

OIC directors are chosen by the community at large in a general meeting called for the purpose. The positions last only as long as the OIC training programs are in effect on the reservations.

Decision Making

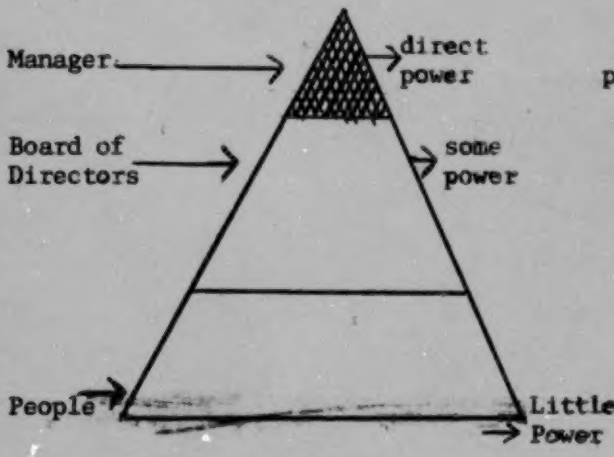
Decision making is a peculiarly difficult business for Passamaquoddy management personnel, for several reasons. First, there is so little previous tribal experience in management, in the modern sense, that no one knows exactly where the managerial boundaries are. Neither the manager nor the managed know what is expected in this new relationship--managers and directors, by definition, are un-Passamaquoddy institutions. It's the old story retold: No Passamaquoddy tells another what to do.

Decisions are reached by roundabout methods expertly calulated to offend no one. Even the supreme manager, the chief, does not "manage" as such, except in the most subtle ways. Instead, he influences the council to direct him to do what he already thinks best. (Without council approval, he will not long remain chief.) Federal program guidelines and bylaws direct the managers and directors to make decisions, yet managerial inexperience combined with a community-wide dislike of being "bossed" results in managers turning to others in council and leadership positions for advice and reaffirmation of ideas. They seek justification at many levels for most of their actions, for they don't feel free to act on their own. They are both unsure of their abilities and that the community gives them the authority the federal proclamations say they have. The federal program mandates "to manage" are outside mandates to "tell others what to do"--something one cannot do in a Passamaquoddy community.

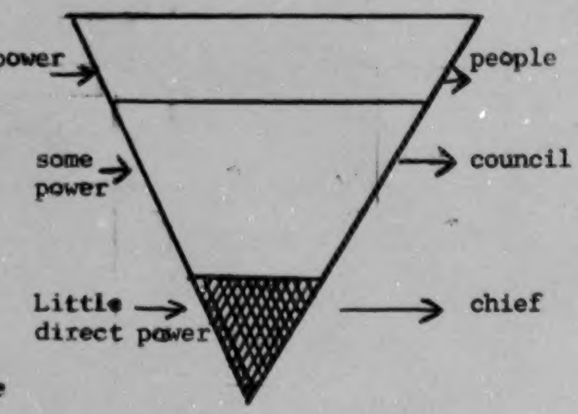
Clearly community ideals and management, per se, are in conflict.

"Management," then, is basically an intrusion (however necessary) from outside. Furthermore, it is not in accord with the only kind of management situation the tribe is accustomed to--the council and chief. Although it may seem to the uninformed observer that a manager and a board of directors are much like a chief and his council, actually there is a basic philosophical difference between the two.

The manager in a program or a company operates at the top of a pyramid, with a considerable amount of direct power vested in his position. The Passamaquoddy chief, however, sits at the bottom of a reversed pyramid, with no particular power vested in his role except what the council grants him. The council, in its turn, receives its power from the people.



Typical Management Situation



Passamaquoddy Government

It is not wonder the Passamaquoddy manager, then, doubts that he has real authority. Everything in his culture tells him that he does not. Generally, he is pulled in two directions until paralyzed into inaction, or he makes his decision for or against the "Passamaquoddy way." If he supports Passamaquoddy culture, he is happily received by his community but is in trouble with the district directors of his program. If he follows the official guidelines, he finds that no one on the reservation will work for him. Perhaps the manager could turn to his board of directors for direction and support, as a chief turns to his council. But no--the board will not come to his aid; they too sense, however unclearly, the basic philosophical difference in the two systems. Management by white standards simply does not culturally "fit" into Passamaquoddy life. The people will not allow excess amounts of power to be vested in one individual.

Dealing with this problem will take considerable thought--preferably by Indians, for this management problem is not unique to the Passsamaquoddy. The mimicking of white management methods has not worked so far, and it is not likely to work in the future. Certainly, whatever the "Indian Way" of management may turn out to be, it has to be more comfortable and effective than present methods. If an Indian brand of management is ever discovered, it should be given full reign, no matter how it looks to another culture.

Source of Expertise

Law

The most important source of expertise available to the Passamaquoddy is the Indian Legal Services Unit of Pine Tree Legal Assistance, Inc., a nonprofit OEO legal service. This organization has been consistent in its willingness and capability to help the tribe secure a variety of federal programs, has assisted in the land case, and has counseled in private matters. The Indian Legal Services Unit provides advice and representation to the Passamaquoddy CAPs, the Basket Co-ops, the Housing authorities, and a woman's club. It negotiated with the Native American Rights Fund to assist in the land case, and was instrumental in helping establish the Eastern Seaboard Coalition of Indians, which was originally spearheaded by the Passamaquoddy. The legal service also has been reliably supportive in dealings with town, county, state, and federal governments. The Passamaquoddy have benefited greatly from this organization, which has upheld their rights, explained their legal status, used Indians in their offices, and in general operated efficiently behind the scenes.

Until the Indian Legal Services Unit was established, "the law" was more often an enemy than a friend to the Passamaquoddy people, and was frequently used as an instrument to obtaining Indian land or saving the state money; now, the Passamaquoddy are suing the state and federal governments. The Indian Legal Services Unit represents federal War on Poverty programs at their best--a "best" that probably exceeds the government's original plans.

Construction, Sanitation, Planning

In 1969 the tribe hired a civil engineer to oversee the construction of new schools on each reservation. Later he was hired by the housing authorities to assist in planning and managing the installation of water and sewage treatment plants. Today he is the housing coordinator for both reservations, in the hire of the two Passamaquoddy Housing Authorities. In 1971 an architect was also hired by the housing authorities; he works primarily on community centers.

Education

Shortly after the Maine Department of Indian Affairs was established, Indian education was placed under the state department of education and an "Indian Education Specialist" was hired to work with the three Maine Indian reservation schools and the department of education. The specialist, who formerly worked with Eskimo education projects, today works closely with the Passamaquoddy director of the bilingual, bi-cultural program at Indian Township. Several linguists and anthropologists are consultants to this program, providing assistance in putting the language in written form and in compiling Passamaquoddy history. Several Passamaquoddy also provide the bilingual program with expertise in dance, song, crafts, and other lore.

Government

Expertise in government has been made available on the state level to the Passamaquoddy Commissioner of Indian Affairs by Governor Curtis and his staff, and by a handful of interested legislators. On the federal level, Senators and Representatives from both parties have been quite responsive to Maine Indian needs, and have helped Maine Indian delegations maneuver in Washington. It is safe to say that Maine Indians never before have had such a sympathetic government at the higher state levels; from the legislature on down, Indians still often encounter difficulties.

Business and Management

Most federal program agencies provide consultants of some sort in administering their programs, but the advice provided is often too theoretical or too general, the language too technical, and the knowledge of Indian culture too vague for these experts to effectively impart their "expertise" to the people. All too often agency consultants come and talk learnedly while the Indians nod pleasantly; but out of earshot the Passamaquoddy ask each other, "What the hell did he say?"

Professional consulting firms have been hired for several Passamaquoddy projects or grant preparations, but they mostly leave the Passamaquoddy with the feeling that much of their money has been spent for little in the way of results--a feeling based on fact. Trusted friends are now more often the Passamaquoddy consultants--paid or otherwise.

The expertise expounded in business and management situations seldom has anything whatever to do with the realities of Passamaquoddy life, and no social scientist is ever employed in these projects. The training or advice should be geared, but usually is not, to the exact task at hand, because Passamaquoddy are not generalizers. The language itself is very detailing and particularizing. Passamaquoddy minds ask questions like "How exactly do we operate the Basket Co-op?" rather than "How are cooperatives usually run?"

Federal or private advisers and consultants need to be far better attuned to the culture they are dealing with. Studies such as this one, detailing Passamaquoddy lifeways, history, and present tribal systems, should have been done in the beginning, not at the end, of federal programs. The mistakes have all been made by this time, and many of the programs are labeled failures; yet it is debatable where the "failure" lies. We suggest that the real failure lies in the failure of program planners and administrators to recognize cultural differences, and in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the federal programs.

Bushels of dollars have been spent for every conceivable kind of consultant but one, the person with an understanding of the Passamaquoddy culture: The one person who has the kind of information necessary to make the programs work.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FEDERAL SOCIAL PROGRAMS

Failures

Some of the federal programs were failures by Passamaquoddy standards, and some were failures by white standards. The examples they follow were failures by everyone's standards.

The first Passamaquoddy Community Action Program (C.A.P.) was created several years ago as a delegate agency of the Washington County agency, even though the Passamaquoddy administratively have had few ties with the county. The Passamaquoddy irreverance for "white tape" and the county C.A.P. director's strong adherence to procedural regulations led rapidly to disharmony. This was augmented by the fact that Indians weren't yet sure what they wanted to do, but they did know they wanted to do it themselves. Under the larger agency, this was seldom possible. The county commissioners often presented a conservative stumbling block to both the Indians and the "outsider" agency director. In short, the whole thing was not a successful arrangement.

The Passamaquoddy lobbied for their own independent agency, and the second year they got it. They now had to have their own board of directors separate from the governmental body of the community, that is, the tribal council. (This rule was a federal guideline.) A board was created and the Passamaquoddy set off with high hopes for their new program.

Before long, however, the C.A.P. board and the tribal council began to wrangle. The council felt that C.A.P. was preempting some of its rights and responsibilities. They were also jealous that C.A.P. was able to promote programs because it was funded, while the legitimate governing body was penniless. It was a period of drastic change when many decisions affecting the community had to be made. But who should make them, C.A.P. or the council? On one reservation, C.A.P. and council were at loggerheads most of the time; at the other, much of the time. The facts were that traditional rights were in the council, and money rights in the C.A.P. board. With these groups opposed, community paralysis resulted. C.A.P. was still not working, on reservations that desperately needed "community action."

In the midst of this dilemma, a few Indian people began to grasp the nature of the illness and thereby came to recommend the cure. Once realized, it was obvious that the board of directors of C.A.P. and the tribal council should be one body on each reservation. The body then would have both the money and the power; it could not fight itself, and the unproductive arguments about who should handle what would vaporize. That this arrangement would be the answer was self-evident; that is, to the Passamaquoddy.

The Keepers of Guidelines, however, said it couldn't be done. It was against the rules. It was an unorthodox and unreasonable demand for the Passamaquoddy to make. It was, in short, "not possible." "Has to be," said the Passamaquoddy. Here began a long series of negotiations with the O.E.O. area representatives. They begged and pleaded and said the Passamaquoddy were making it impossible to give them all that lovely money. "If you don't do it our way, no funds," they said. A joint tribal council meeting was held, with the O.E.O. officials attending. They were certain the Passamaquoddy would see the light and vote sensibly, but the joint council proceeded to reject the next year's C.A.P. grant by a unanimous vote. They had voted down a $100,000 grant. In so doing they had shown a sense of self-preservation and that they couldn't be bought off. For once, they had insisted on doing something their way or not at all.

The sequel to the story is that O.E.O. was dunned with angry letters from more imaginative segments of the public and was forced to re-examine its position. For the first time it occured to them that perhaps it was not the Passamaquoddy who were intransigent but O.E.O. itself. They found a way to have the tribal council and the C.A.P. board be one and the same; and the Passamaquoddy got their grant on their own terms. A year later an O.E.O. evaluator gave the Passamaquoddy one of the highest ratings of any C.A.P. in the country. O.E.O. collectively gulped and began trying the method out in other Indian communities, usually with success. What had once been anathema had now become de rigueur.

The C.A.P. program episode represents a failure turned into a success. The success resulted from fitting the program to the culture instead of fitting the culture to the program. Most program failures, however, have not had such a fortunate outcome.

A good example of a total flop is a recent Army Special Forces paramedical training project. In 1972 this organization sent a medic to each of the three Maine reservations; their purported mission was to set up a reservation clinic with Army surplus materials, provide first aid while they were there, and, most important, train paramedical people who could replace them when they left. They were also to make a survey of health problems on the reservations. The well-intended program, however, was fraught with problems from beginning to end, doomed inevitably to failure because it was built on false premises.

First of all, there was no room on any of the reservations to set up a clinic or even an office. (There *are* no community centers, houses are already overcrowded, and none are vacant.) The medics found they were lucky to have any cramped space to work in at all. Certainly there was none to put a clinic in, so the supplies were cancelled.

The people did look forward to having a medic, however, for they thought he could do what a doctor did, without the travel and expense usually involved. Indeed, the medics had performed surgery on the field in Viet Nam; but back in the U.S. of A.M.A., they were not allowed to stitch up a cut or administer a shot of penicillin. Most of the simple services they *were* allowed to provide were already available in the community through the native medical practitioners. The medics had some business, because they were always available and always free during their three-month stay. But they offered little in the way of new services.

The paramedical people the medics planned to train in their stead did not come forward. Certain people in the community could already take care of many of the things the medics wanted to help them with. In some instances, as with poison ivy, for example, the local remedies were more effective than were those of the medics. The medics, however, could have profitably taught two things to the local native practitioners: facts about nutrition and the rudiments of how infectious diseases are spread and controlled. They never got the chance. Their strict rule from higher up was not to train any native practitioners, on the grounds that they would practice native medicine along with what the medics taught them, and thus bring wrath to the medical profession and shame to the Green Berets! It was pointed out by this observer that the A.M.A. and Green Berets notwithstanding, the Passamaquoddy will continue to seek and receive treatment from native practitioners long after the three-month enterprise was over. It was also pointed out that the sane thing to do was train the Passamaquoddy who were already talented in medicine and who were the people already sought out for medical aid. This rather obvious advice fell on ears that were unwilling or unable to hear. The local practitioners in some cases came forward to be trained and were turned away. Other Passamaquoddy who tentatively ventured forth withdrew. No one, in the end, was trained. The medics have gone, and the native doctors are still curing infections, burns, bites, rashes, pains; and in some cases (though they would deny it) have helped kidney disease, gangrene, cataracts, and other serious ailments. They are good doctors; but because the Green Berets came and said (like so many others), "We are here to help you--our way," Passamaquoddies are no wiser today about healthy nutrition and the germ theory of disease than they ever were.

The Green Beret's medic episode shows very clearly how futile it is to fight the culture, and how disastrous it is not to have the facts first. Good will is just not enough.

The Passamaquoddy, it is true, are not without flaws themselves. They make mistakes; they succumb to unproductive infighting; they are not always clear about the essential relationship between freedom, which they covet, and responsibility. Even so, most failures of reservation programs cannot be placed at their doorstep, but usually can be traced to the blithe ethnocentricity of well-meaning federal program planners, who cannot shake the belief that all Americans shoot for the same goals, reach them by the same means, and assess results by the same standards. Social scientists who might somewhat alleviate this disorder are rarely called into planning these programs; particularly absent are anthropologists, who about American Indians, at least, are more knowledgeable than most other white people. (Ideally, of course, Indian anthropologists should be consulted, but they are in short supply.) It is even more apparent that what is needed, generally, is flexibility, not guidelines created for administrative comfort in a distant city.

Despite the lack of Indian and social-scientist input into federal Indian projects, it should have needed no special expertise to realize that if you don't provide operating capital for a potential business enterprise (the Basket Co-op), you are probably dooming it to failure. And what logic lay behind preventing the MDTA basket-maker trainees from selling the completed baskets if they were of acceptable quality? We have to ask what purpose was fulfilled by having the workers weave and unweave baskets when the Co-op needed capital? If these are the strange and mysterious ways of the white man, the Passamaquoddy are wise to remain Indian!

How, too, is an Indian (or anyone) supposed to grasp the logic behind installing a sewer and a water supply system that is attached to no house? After enduring bulldozers and steam-shovels tearing up the reservations, two years later the Passamaquoddy were still burning-tires to unfreeze community wells.

E.D.A. had an economic development plan prepared by an E.D.A. consultant, and many Passamaquoddy were interviewed for their ideas, which were included in the plan. The plan was basically sound and well researched, but it was rejected. No one is quite sure why.

These are but a few of the federal bombs that have hurtled through the reservations these last few years. A common element of pigheadedness runs through them all. We say the Indians will not bend; it is we who will not bend.

Reality, Indian Style, is what the federal planners must work with in the Indian communities. Is this really so difficult? With money saved from program disasters it would be possible to hire competent Indian or anthropological researchers to predict likely snags and unforeseen disasters-in-waiting of a program. This should not be a luxury at all, but a necessity. The one reason it may never happen is that if all the separate realities of the Indian communities were faced, it would be impossible to make universally applicable program guidelines. But of course it always has been impossible.

Success

A few years ago on the reservations, schools were not happy places for the Passamaquoddy. There were no Indian school boards, no Indian teachers, no Indian history of Maine, and no teaching in the native language. The schools were run entirely by outsiders, mostly nuns, who were not even required to be certified by the state. The quality of teachers, thus, ran the gamut from excellent and enlightened to substandard and prejudiced. The problems faced by a child in a bilingual situation were never acknowledged, let alone dealt with. The schools were generally shunned by parents, who in some cases were made unwelcome there. Children all too often put in their school time as one puts in time at a penitentiary.

With Catholic church awakening to the new demands of Indians that they be included in planning and running their own affairs, little by little some Indian elements began to be included in the curriculum, usually in the arts and crafts realm. One nun taught Indian dancing, using a drum she made herself. Not knowing that the songs give directions to the dancers, she cried out, "Left, right, left," while the children plodded glumly through their lack-luster paces.

In 1968, the State Department of Education took over Indian education for the first time. Some Indian teaching assistants were hired, and eventually an Indian education specialist. Through the efforts of many a legislative act the first Indian school boards were created on each reservation, and two new schools were built at last.

Around this same time a Passamaquoddy man, Wayne Newell, went to Harvard for a Master of Education degree in Indian education. He was from Pleasant Point Reservation, but after graduation he settled with his family at Indian Township, where--with a grant from H.E.W., the good wishes of the state Indian Education Specialist, and a tentative go-ahead from the tribal council--Newell began a bilingual, bicultural education program in the Dana Point (Indian Township) Grammar School. His underlying belief was that personal pride and dignity is a prerequisite to learning, as well as motivational force that could carry Passamaquoddy children through the many crises encountered in getting an education. The pride and dignity was to come through cultural awareness and pride in Passamaquoddy history and arts, and through a real skill in both the native language and English.

Today, the Dana Point School is a happy place. (Newell's aim:

"To make this the happiest place on the reservation.") The children work hard, learn a lot, and still keep smiling. Regimentation is minimized, use of Indian personnel is maximized, and the whole community is involved in capturing the language in writing (with the help of linguists at Massachusetts Institute of Technology). The program includes courses that teach Passamaquoddy and other Indian history, the development of the land case, and the basis for the present status of Maine Indians. Indian adults in various careers and positions talk to classes about their jobs and what they do, including people in political offices of the tribe. Displays and posters stressing Passamaquoddy life and language abound in the school, and twice-a-week gym consists of Indian dance classes, taught by a Passamaquoddy woman proficient in the art. Language games have also been created in both Passamaquoddy and English, and a small bilingual newspaper (The Wabanaki Times) is issued every week or two. Three books for beginners in Passamaquoddy writing have been developed, and a dictionary is planned. The school library, which is always open, is being filled with books of all sorts, with an emphasis on Indian subjects. (The library, such as it was, used to be locked, most of the times, no books could be taken home, and one had to be "good" to have reading privileges.) It is used now by both adults and children. Adult classes are in progress to teach the new writing system, and every house has a sign describing in Passamaquoddy terms who lives there. The non-native staff is learning the writing systems, too. Everyone, in short, is learning and contributing to the enterprise, and the school truly belongs to the community for the first time. It is a most heartening development to have witnessed.

To imply that every Passamaquoddy approves this revolution in education would not be true, for many have doubts the children are "learning anything." They know from sad experience that learning should be painful and school miserable, and these children are enjoying themselves! It is a safe bet, though, that Newell's thesis is right: The program does engender self-respect and pride, which will carry at least some children through the vicissitudes of education in white schools later on. Those who don't break the dropout barrier at least will understand their place in the universe better. They will know their history, their language, their traditions, and their rights. They can only be better off than they would have been without this new program.

By almost any standards the program is a resounding success; and the key to its success is that it is Indian planned, staffed, and run (even though various non-native staff members and consultants are freely used). Twenty years from now, in retrospect, the new school program may turn out to be one of the most important innovations of this entire dynamic period.

Another tribal success, already detailed, was C.A.P. after it was run "The Indian Way." Yet another success is the Indian unit of

Pine Tree Legal Assistance. This organization is not Indian run, but it is genuinely dedicated to Indian causes, has hired Indian staff on a fairly regular basis, and deals with issues important to the people it serves. Lack of funding results in having to deal mainly in class-action suits rather than with individual cases, which occasionally leads to misunderstandings; but on the whole Pine Tree Legal is in touch with the tribe and therefore with the "Indian Reality" promoted in this paper.

Other successes were some training programs that taught skills useful on the reservation in on-going projects. Some Basic Education programs have also been successful, and many people have earned their high school equivalency certificates. Finally, Bermuda North's craft program stands out in the crowd as a winner.

All of these successes have the following in common: extensive Indian input and constant contact with the community, adapting to the culture rather than vice versa, and goals in accord with those of the people.

The most prominent success of all is the hardest one to see, an unplanned-for by-product of all the government programs that have rolled in, out, or over the reservations in the last 10 years: the development of Indian leadership. Programs that ostensibly "failed" nevertheless provided travel money, conferences, and decent incomes for enough people to help a few break out of the rut of isolation and gain knowledge and confidence in themselves. Perhaps one of the most important lessons some Passamaquoddy learned is that white people don't always know what they're doing, and that Indians sometimes do! Another revelation is that some people "out there" really do want to help. True, they want to do it their way, usually, but at least somebody cares. The message has begun to come through: "We are a worthwhile people."

People who a few years back were afraid to address any group off the reservation today lecture all over New England and chat freely with Congressmen in Washington. They know the ropes politically, and what they don't know, they know how to find out. In addition, after many years of relative isolation they have become acquainted with Indians of other areas of the country and have become increasingly aware of their losses in not being federally recognized.

Leadership, a sense of worth, and access to knowledge—these are the greatest gifts provided (inadvertently) by the federal programs. Through these gifts Maine Indians have gained their own department on the state level, have rallied concerned citizen's groups to their side, have started a historic suit for land rights, have created the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans, have increased inter-reservation cooperation and good will, have improved education, sanitation and economic conditions, and have begun to regain control of their lives again, after nearly 300 years of being under the Big Thumb. "Knowledge is Power." For the Passamaquoddies, with their new knowledge, there will be no turning back on the long, long road to better days.

Other Indians in the state and throughout New England are reacting to the developments on the three Maine reservations by seeking funds, recognition, and a chance at a decent life, even though many are landless and powerless at present. The pebble is in the water and the ripples are widening out.

Analysis

For an outsider, analyzing another culture is like putting a jigsaw puzzle together with no picture on the box to go by. Are you making geraniums or windmills? Scattered on the table top, the pieces are incomprehensible. The corner and edge pieces are the crucial ones to place in beginning to grasp the puzzle's makeup. So, with understanding another culture, one must place the cultural values of the people in their proper places, for they represent the corners and perimeters of the culture, showing the limits and boundaries of cultural behavior as well as much about arrangement of the other pieces in the center.

For these reasons, much of this paper has been devoted to explicating the cultural values of the Passamaquoddy, values which for them represent "the way things are." Certain of these values persist through time historically, as well as in many contemporary situations, for values in any man's world are all-pervasive, whether he recognizes them or not. If an outsider attempting to promote a program among a different people fails to perceive (or worse yet, to believe) the other culture's value system, he will probably both disrupt the culture and waste his efforts. Cultures, besides being like puzzles, are like living creatures whose immunoreactions throw off incompatible intruding organisms. They are out of kilter for awhile (sick, if you will), until the offending element is thrown off. Then they return to normal. Such has been the fate of many a federal program that tried to operate in ignorance of, or in opposition to, Passamaquoddy values. The Passamaquoddy themselves have often contributed to this sequence while trying to cooperate with a program that someone wants to give them, which they want to have. But whenever they make too many concessions to doing things someone else's way, they find disaster in the wings. For too long, they have been brainwashed to believe that the white man knows best. He doesn't--at least not about the Passamaquoddy reality.

An admonition therefore follows, for both program planners and the Passamaquoddy: understand the Passamaquoddy world, its history, continuity, vicissitudes and most of all, its values. Work with the values. Use them, don't fight them. Be creative and dare to do what may look silly to people in the next town or at the next desk.

A brief review of some of these values is appropriate:

Good is limited; if one man gains, another must lose.

One person does not tell another what to do.

Work is not a virtue in and of itself.

Families or lineages have strong social obligations to others members of the group.

Freedom of action and movement is more important than steady work, if a choice must be made.

Independence and self-management are ideals, even when working side-by-side with another person.

One is specific in speech and meaning. Generalizations are meaningless.

There is pride in being Indian.

An excess of power in one individual is not to be tolerated.

One will say "yes" when one means "no" in order to avoid a rude confrontation.

Inter-tribal difficulties will not be made known to outsiders.

One's fate, to a great extent, is pre-ordained.

Economic development is desirable, but not at the expense of everything else.

Preferences and custom are very close to being values and must be as well understood as values are. Here are some preferences and customs:

Seasonal cycles of activity are customary--winter is the hard work time, summer the take-it-easy time. Cycles of extremely hard work followed by total relaxation are a commonplace way of life.

There is "Indian Time" and "White Time." Indians check their watches when meeting a white man but may not when meeting one another. Punctuality in itself is no special virtue. Working from 8 to 5 has no meaning to anyone but the mill timekeeper.

In living close to the land one uses the season's bounties as they appear. Other things, like jobs, can wait.

Much can be learned by the nature of recent basic changes in the Passamaquoddy community, for as we have pointed out, incompatible elements are ultimately rejected. Here are some significant changes of recent years:

The reduction of migratory workers shows that economic patterms can change if jobs are made available.

The development of viable leadership through exposure to new experiences, information, and travel shows that the capability for self-determination is undeniably present in the Passamaquoddy people.

The newly gained legal and historical knowledge that the tribe has is now part of the culture. It cannot be taken to become subservient again.

The general direction of change is toward a reaffirmation of two things: a decent life, and the right to be Indian.

Prosperity's fruits are used from the belly out, for personal satisfactions. In a place where everyone intimately knows everyone else, paint on the house will impress no one but non-residents.

Women are emerging as important tribal decision makers on a more than behind-the-scene basis, and are increasingly active in tribal politics.

The Passamaquoddy are willing to make some concessions to the white man's way and have amply proved this in working through the alien red (white) tape's program applications and sometimes really ridiculous guidelines.

Indians in general, and the Passamaquoddy with them, are now demanding cultural concessions from white agencies who want to help. "Help us our way, for our reasons," is the message.

We have noted various built-in problems in federal programs on the Passamaquoddy reserves. Some of these problems are the Passamaquoddy's own, some are those of the federal agencies, and some belong to both:

The agent, welfare, and ADC have all been a part of Passamaquoddy life, and are used like natural resources that must be harvested while available. Federal programs (which disappear and reappear and change their shape in the night) are often seen in this same light, rather than as long-range aids to self-determination.

Developing management is a problem to be thoughtfully worked out, for a Passamaquoddy can't tell another what to do, no matter what the job description says!

There are lineage factions whose competition must be channeled constructively to avoid tugs of war that could ruin a program.

Women's capabilities must be used to a fuller extent. This means training and day-care arrangements.

Teenagers are in a never-never land of dropping out and are ineligible for everything going; they are a great disruption on the reservation through no fault of their own.

Supply never meets demand in the Passamaquoddy market. Although poor, they cannot produce enough goods to meet the market demand.

Finally, there are great differences in values among the non-native program planners, as well as differences in judgment over what "failed" and what "succeeded."

Suggestions

This final section will be devoted to specific suggestions that could bring improvements to the Passamaquoddy economic development scene. Many have been mentioned in other parts of the paper in context and are extracted and summarized here; others are new entries.

Present economic pursuits that could be augmented. Many people could augment their incomes during hunting and fishing season as guides, because the recreation potential of Maine is increasing, and nearly every "down-country sport" would prefer an Indian guide to anyone else. Demand is already greater than supply, so that training courses to license more Indian guides is an obvious need.

The fur-trade practices, casually accepted at present by nearly everyone, should be re-examined. Why, for instance, isn't a reservation person able to serve as the go-between with the fur companies? What prices are being granted for pelts in other places? Certainly, a dollar is not adequate recompense for a deer hide!

At Pleasant Point, exclusive Indian fishing and lobstering rights should be secured off the coast of the reservation, and any other similar rights that were stated in the treaties should also be re-established. In this way, several more people could probably make a living as lobstermen and fishermen.

Christmas wreaths are made throughout Washington County and on the reservations, and are sold for very low prices--sometimes as low as 25 cents each. The large wreaths are made of balsam "tips" wired onto a form. When decorated, they sell on city streets in other states for between $5 and $10. Perhaps decorations could be purchased wholesale and applied by tribal members, and the tribe could establish direct outlets in the cities.

A few Christmas novelties are already made (of the ash material used in baskets), and these items could be produced as a specialty. Some people already make poinsettias, crosses, and birds, and by borrowing some ideas from the Scandinavian Christmas ornaments of straw, the Passamaquoddy could quite easily develop distinctive ornaments of ash and sweetgrass, which should have high salability in gift shops and the wreath markets.

In the basket industry, operating capital is a must. More efficient ways of securing and replanting brown ash need to be established, and more effective ways of getting the pounded strips to the weavers must be developed, both for those who work at home and those that work in the Co-ops. Basket dyes should be improved, for they sometimes fade.

Beaded or carved jewelry, knickknacks, and toys are made, but there are never enough to meet the demand. Encouragement of this cottage industry is in order, and it ought to be at least minimally organized, perhaps with an outlet through the Co-ops. Some people who are old or semi-invalid could work at these crafts at home, if they had supplies.

Finally, better roads and maps would greatly facilitate tourists going to the reservations to buy these goods. The reservations are almost impossible to find, if one doesn't know where to look for them.

Possible New Economic Pursuits. If the social and health needs of the tribe are not met (and U. S. Indian Health Services so far will not help this tribe), economic development schemes will have minimal returns. Reservation clinics are necessary but unfunded, and mental health services are almost totally lacking. Alcohol treatment facilities are in the planning stages, but funds are shaky at present. Funding agencies should, therefore, automatically relegate a small part of every program budget toward helping existing reservation health facilities or creating new ones.

Day-care centers for working mothers need to be encouraged, for in these small communities one can't afford to waste talent, male or female, and many of the tribe's potential leaders, craftsmen, and creative thinkers are women. They need to be freed, at least part of the day, to use their talents in tribal enterprises.

Guaranteed federal loans for business projects operated by Maine Indians would be a great boon, but these Indians are not presently eligible for loans available to Federal Indians. It is most difficult for the tribe to borrow funds for operating capital, because they have no collateral.

The historical resources of the tribe could be developed for the benefit of the tribe's morale, the edification of the state's other residents, and the stimulation of tourist trade. If similar projects could be developed in other Indian communities on the Eastern Seaboard, perhaps a coordinated "Eastern Indian Historical Trail" could be developed from Maine to Florida. Many members of the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans are dreaming, too, of developing their own historic resources.

At Pleasant Point, a small marina could be developed. Passamaquoddy

Bay is fairly treacherous; therefore, Indian guides who know the bay well could be part of this complex. A possible small industry for the collection of specimens for biological research (suggested in Tannenbaun's EDA report) is another income potential. A Penobscot who has seen the Lummi aquaculture project on the Northwest Coast wondered if a similar effort might not work at Pleasant Point. A feasibility study of this possibility may be in order.

At Indian Township, there is an ample deer herd and a strong interest and talent in leather work. It would be emminently worthwhile to establish tanning facilities on at least a small scale for leather preparation. It is certainly one of the most obvious improvements that could be made for the least outlay.

Northeastern Indians have distinctive floral designs; Maine Indians, besides these, have a unique "double curve motif" type of design that could profitably be used in eastern Indian silver jewelry craft. Given the talent exhibited by the Passamaquoddy in other crafts, and the booming market in Indian jewelry and arts, with good training and promotion, Northeastern Indian jewelry would seem a very good bet. Local Maine semi-precious stones might be incorporated in this work as well.

Indian Township has potential wealth in its ample supplies of cedar and other woods, and a portable lumber mill would be a boon to the tribe. Perhaps direct sale arrangements could be made with the various island communities off the New England coast, where houses are often sided with cedar shakes and shingles. Cedar fencing could also be produced at Indian Township quite easily.

Fiddle-head fern cultivation is another distinct possibility on Indian Township; it has already been mastered in New Brunswick, so that the techniques are already developed and presumably could be copied here.

Most important in the realm of new economic pursuits, and one that would incorporate almost all of the foregoing suggestions, is the development of a good-sized tourism complex. A multi-story motel with museum, stores, marina, deep-sea fishing trips, boat rentals, restaurant, and gift shop could be created at Pleasant Point, even though the land base is small. Perhaps a small ferry could operate from this complex to Deer, Moose, and Grand Manan Island, as well as to nearby Campobello.

At Indian Township, the possibilities for a tourist complex are even greater because of the large land base, brooks, rivers, and lakes. Here, where fish and game abound and the lakes are pure, it would be feasible to have a year-round tourist haven, with camping, swimming, boating, canoeing, snow-mobiling, hunting, fishing, ice-fishing, snow-shoeing, cross country skiing, nature walks, cook-outs, and other sporting pursuits. Supportive facilities could include a small boat marina, gift shop, laundromat, museum, craft demonstrations, grocery and tackle store, restaurant, motel, cabins, boat rentals, camping and canoeing outfitting, drive-in movie theatre, tennis courts, and garage, as well as sales and rental outlets for snow mobiles, boats, skis, small engines, trail bikes, and so on. Jobs would be made available to everyone in such a comprehensive program, and a successful tourist complex would generate new jobs constantly through the necessity for new units, the demand for craft, and the need for baby sitting, guides, and other services. Besides benefiting from the growing tourist industry of northern New England, the tribe could also benefit from the recreation provided to itself in this tribal-wide enterprise (as well as from the income). Such a complex would be self-generating, and ideally would put the tribe beyond the winds of political change, which presently keep them swinging from program to uncoordinated program.

The tribe has attempted to have such a project funded before (from EDA), with negative results. Some have suggested they seek help from the BIA, which currently is developing similar programs on reservations across the country. But the BIA and Maine Indians, as we have shown, have no official ties, and no help is forthcoming from that quarter.

Avoiding problems in the presentation of federal programs.

The first necessary step in avoiding problems is for federal agencies to eliminate nonsense guidelines. A typical example is the guideline requiring job trainees to be 18 before receiving training. It would be much better to allow training to any people over 14, and to attach a rider requiring all those under 18 to work also on a high school equivalency certificate.

Another important goal of federal programs should be to take a total approach, and to finish jobs once undertaken (for example, the water and sewerage project, and the Basket Co-op). Continuity of programs is obviously a must.

In planning reservation programs, federal agencies should first know the tribe well. This could be accomplished by having and using studies such as this one, by using native specialists where ever possible, by using anthropologists familiar with the area, and in general by learning the cultural values, history, and present status of the community to be helped. True, it is a lot of work, but it would be well worthwhile. Federal agencies also need to examine their own inevitable ethnocentricity in regard to goals and methods. They need to keep it clearly in mind that, although intransigence may appear to be the dominant feature of the culture they are attempting to assist, intransigence may also be their own most dominant feature in the eyes of the program's recipients. Finally, consultants who come to give technical assistance need to know more than "facts": They need to know the people.

We have emphasized throughout that when the Passamaquoddy culture bends too far to fit itself to some program, disaster or rejection of the program inevitably follows. Programs, then, must be fitted to the culture, and not the reverse. How can this be done?

Hours, and even work days, should be flexible.

Mini-grants should be made to individual families or lineages, which would then sell their crafts to the tribally owned Co-op.

There must be, as far as humanly possible, an even distribution of good jobs. (This would be most easily accomplished in a tourist development program).

There must be training for the kind of jobs where one can be one's own boss.

Advice and training should be geared to the exact task at hand. (How do you fill out this particular form? What does a "quarterly report" mean? How do you set a fair price, for a basket?)

Lineage competition should be used constructively, by having different families work on different projects and programs.

The tribe, and tribal government, should be consulted at every phase of planning and execution of any program. Get Indian input all the way.

Training must be adequate. Don't assume anything about a people's past experience in a job. They may have no acquaintance with an item at all.

Use total approach programs (such as the tourist complex) that give the community-at-large common goals and similar opportunities.

The presentation of programs could certainly use some upgrading, too. People often are unclear about programs, how or who supplies them, how long they will last, or what they are supposed to accomplish. Personal roles in the programs, not to mention job duties, are often just as obscure. Films, therefore, need to be developed to accompany every program, explaining in three dimensions what exactly is supposed to go on and who is supposed to do it. Federal agencies need to coordinate their efforts at higher levels, so that similar programs from different agencies don't leave everyone standing around wondering what the program difference is, and who should do what?

Finally, some general suggestions:

Provide a total program, which will involve the whole tribe.

Run the tribe, or at least each reservation, as a corporate body with the elected chief and council as the overall board of directors.

Funnel in all separate program moneys into one fund, which is earmarked for the total tribal project. Let Indians, perhaps with consultant assistance, set the priorities on the use of The Composite Fund.

Build re-seeding money into all programs (so much profit requires so much to be reinvested in the enterprises).

Get the tribe itself to figure out how to increase production and how to make management work.

Get good health care, nutrition, and personal money management programs underway.

Work on the development of a sense of community and on Indian pride.

Finally, let the words of a Passamaquoddy woman who spoke at the 1972 Maine Indian Civil Rights Hearings be engraved in bronze and placed on every "Indian Desk" in the land:

> "We are sick to death of people telling us what's good for us and cramming it down our throats. We would like to have the opportunity to decide our own destiny."

REFERENCES

"Act relating to the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, June 19, 1819."
1819 Sec. 1, Art. 5, "Indians of Maine." Doc. Hist., Maine Hist. Soc., Coll., Sec. 2, Vol. VIII, Portland (1902).

Associated Press
1968 "Logging, Indian dispute quiets; work is resumed." Portland Press Herald, 7/6/68.

Associated Press
1969 "Quoddy toll gate on route 1 gets tribal go-ahead." Maine Sunday Telegram, 7/4/69.

Bangor Daily News
1969 "Indians say if talks, they may not block." Bangor Daily News, 7/7/69.

Baxter, James P.
1908 - 1916 "Documentary history of Maine.", Maine Hist., Soc. Coll., Sec. 2. (Vols. XII, XIII, XXIII, and XXIV, pertain to Maine Indians.) Portland, Maine.

Beal, Clayton
1969 "Indians vow road blocks, seek milk, medical funds."

Beal, Clayton
1969 "Demonstration by Quoddy Indians wins concession from State bureau." Bangor Daily News, 7/8/73.

Beck, Horace P.
1966 "Gluskap the liar and other Indian tales." Freeport, Maine: The Bond Wheelwright Company.

Belmore, Bruce W.
1945 "Early Princeton, Maine." Portland, Maine: Southworth-Anthoensen Press.

Brown, Mrs. W.W.
1892 "'Chief Making' among the Passamaquoddy Indians." J. Amer. folklore, Vol. V, p. 57-59.

Buesing, Gregory P.
1970 "Notes on Wabanaki history." Middleton, Conn: Wesleyan Univ. unpublished honors-thesis, Dept. Anthro.

Brunswick Times-Record
1968 "Indians to plan next step on disputed timber cutting." Brunswick Times-Record, 7/2/68.

Brunswick Times-Record
1968 "Indian picnic halts timber cutting." Brunswick Times-Record, 7/5/68.

Calais Advertiser
1969 "Indians collect their scalps-and milk and medicine." Calais Advertiser, 7/10/69.

"Cession of lands to the State of Maine for support of the Indians, by commissioners under the Act of Separation, Dec. 28, 1822."
1822 Doc. Hist., Maine Hist. Soc., Coll., Sec. 2, Vol. VIII, Portland (1902).

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate
1969 "The education of American Indians. Field investigation and research reports." (see pp. 245-251 for Maine.) Prepared for the subcommittee on the Ind. Ed. Vol. II. Washington: U.S. Gov't. Printing Office.

Clarkson Corporation
1969 "Analysis of transient motor vehicles near lands owned by the Passamaquoddy Indians and analysis of marine traffic on Passamaquoddy Bay near lands owned by Passamaquoddy Indians, Washington County Maine." Fairfield, Maine: Clarkson Corp.

Davis, Harold A.
1950 "An international community on the Saint Croix." Orono: Univ. of Maine Press.

Davis, Reverend John P.
1971 "Project, Bermuda North II." Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College Newman Apostolate. (mimeo.)

Desjardins, Rt. Rev. Phillip E.
1952 "Indian missions in Maine in chronological order." Portland, Archdiocese of Portland?

Doyle, LL. and G. Buesing
1970 "A five year development program for the Indians of Maine, submitted to the Nat'l. Conference of Catholic Bishops' Campaign for Human Development." Bangor, Maine: Div. of Ind. Serv., Diocese of Portland.

Dunnack, H.E.
1920 "The Maine book" Augusta, Maine: copyright H.E. Dunnack. (no publ.)

Eckstorm, F.H.
1932 "The handicrafts of the modern Indians of Maine." Bar Harbor, Maine: Abbe Museum. Bull. III.

Eckstorm, F.H.
1939 "A reference list of manuscripts relating to the history of Maine, Part II." Orono, Maine: Univ. of Maine Press.

Eckstorm, F.H.
1945 "Old John Neptune and other Maine Indian shamans." Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press.

Economic Development Administration
1971 "Federal and state Indian reservations; and EDA handbook." Publ. by U.S. Dept. of Commerce.

Elwell, E.L.
1968 "An overall economic development plan; Promote Recreation and Industry Down East, Inc. (PRIDE). (Hancock, Knox, Penobscot, Piscatiquis, Waldo, and Washington Counties.) Submitted to Econ. Dev. Admin; U.S. Commerce Dept. Congress, Washington, D.C.

Faux, G.
1972 "Rural poverty and land ownership in Maine." in Community Economics (occasional bulletin), Cambridge, Mass: Center for Community Economic Development.

Fitzpatrick, D.W.
1968 "Quoddies to gain control of disputed timber lands." Brunswick Times-Record, 7/9/68.

Fontaine, D.F.
1971 "Evaluating Pine Tree Legal Assistance, Inc." (see esp. "Report on activities of the Indian Legal Services Unit of Calais, Maine".) Prepared for Auerbach Corp. (no publ. info.)

Ford, Daniel
1971 "The natives are restless. Maine's desperate Indians are creating a new kind of school to save their kids." Boston Sunday Globe, 1/10/71.

Gerety, Bishop Peter L.
1971 "A coordinated plan for human and social development." Portland, Maine, Archdiocese of Portland.

Gustafson, Robert
1971 "Passamaquoddy Indians weave their way to economic success." Opportunity Mag., June, United States Office of Economic Opportunity.

Hacket, B. M., Jr.
1971 "Meni-Countri Products, Inc. economic development trip to the Passamaquoddy Indian reservations at Dana Point and Pleasant Point." (Cost-analysis of basket and wreath making.) Waltham, Mass; Meni-Countri Products, Inc.

Hasbrouck, Sarah S.
1968 "The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine: 1611-1820." Augusta: Dept. of Indian Affairs (mimeo.)

Inter-Cultural Studies Group of Concord Academy
1973 "Indian leadership in New England, 1973." Publ. by Inter-cultural Studies Group, Lexington, Mass.

Isaacson, Doris, Ed.
1970 "Maine: a guide 'Down East'," 2nd. ed. Rockland, Maine: Courier-Gazette, Inc.

Joseph, A.M. Jr.
1971 "Red Power: The American Indians' fight for freedom." New York: American Heritage Press.

Kaliss, Anthony
1969 "A report on Passamaquoddy tribal lands on Indian Township, Nemcass (Governors) Point and Pine Island." (mimeo.)

Kaliss, Anthony
1972 "Maine Indians today; Penobscots, Micmacs, Maliseets, Passamaquoddies; a study of current programs and services." Bangor, Maine: Div. of Ind. Serv., Bur. Hum. Rel., Archdiocese, Portland.

Kidder, Frederic
1867 "Military operations in eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution." Albany, N.Y.

Kilby, W.H.
1888 "Eastport and Passamaquoddy." Eastport, Maine. (see ch. 18, "The Passamaquoddy Tribe of Indians.")

Kip, Rev. Wm. I.
1847 "The early Jesuit missions in North America, compliled and translated from the letters of the French Jesuits, with notes." Part I. New York: Wiley & Putnam.

Langley, William
1971 "Maine Indians: net gain in five years–zero." Maine Times, 7/2/71. (Interview with Passamaquoddy Tribal Governor, John Stevens.)

Leach, D.E.
1966 "The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763." New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Lescarbot, Marc
1606 (1907) "The history of New France", with an English translation, notes and appendices by Wil. Grant. 3 vols., Toronto: The Champlain Society.

Levine, Jo Ann
1967 "Rising expectations stir Indians in Maine." Boston: Christian Science Monitor. 5/29/67.

Levine, Jo Ann
1967 "Maine Indians find a voice." Boston: Christian Science Monitor, 5/31/67.

Levine, Jo Ann
1967 "Outsiders' awaken Maine Indians." Boston: Christian Science Monitor, 6/1/67.

Lipsky, J. & J. Baker
1971 "The Passamaquoddy: gentle red militance." The Phoenix (Boston), 12/29/71. (Note: This is an outstandingly informative article on values, relationship to Maine, and developments of the late 1960's among the Passamaquoddy.)

Lord, R.H., Sexton, J.E., and Harrington, E.T.
1944 "History of the Archdiocese of Boston." 3 vols. (See Vol. II, "The missions of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont.") New York: Sheed and Ward.

Maine Council of Churches
1951 "Our Maine Indians", publ. by Maine Council of Churches, (mimeo)

Maine Dept. Education
    1969 "Indian Education in Maine." Dept. of Indian Affairs, Augusta, Maine: (mimeo.)

Maine Dept. of Indian Affairs
    1968 "The Department of Indian Affairs." Dept. of Indian Affairs, Augusta, Maine: (mimeo.)

Maine Dept. of Indian Affairs
    1971 "Maine Indians: a brief summary." Augusta, Maine: Dept. of Ind. Aff. (mimeo.)

Maine Dept. of Indian Affairs
    Revised
    1971 "State of Maine: a compilation of laws pertaining to Indians." Augusta: State Dept. of Indian Affairs, mimeographed.

Morrison, A.H.
    1968 "Ramblings in Wabanakia and Wabanakiana." (Bibliography of Maine Indian sources.) Buffalo: Dept. of Anthro., State Univ. of N.Y.

Morrison, K.
    1968 "Legal action hinted on Indian land case." Brunswick Times-Record, 6/27/68.

Morrison, K.
    1970 "Maine Indians fight back." Maine Times, April 3, 1970.

Newell, Wayne
    1973 "Report on Bilingual-Bicultural Education program at Indian Township, Maine." Indian Township Maine; Dana Point School.

New York Times
    1968 "Maine woods pact heartens Indians. Passamaquoddys get right to cut trees for concern." New York Times, 7/21/68.

New York Times
    1972 "Judge backs Indians in Maine land suit." New York Times, 6/24/72.

Nicholas, Barry
    1970 "Report on the Indien Education Workshop held at T.R.I.B.E. Inc., Learning Center, Bar Harbor, Maine, Aug. 3-22." (mimeo.)

Nicolar, Joseph (Penobscot Indian)
1893 "The life and traditions of the red man." Bangor: C.H. Glass & Co.

Nutt, George W.
1860 "Annual report of the agent to the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribes of Maine to the Honorable Governor and Council of Maine." Publ. by State of Maine.

O'Toole, F.J., and Tureen, T.N.
1971 "State power and the Passamaquoddy Tribe: a gross national hypocrisy?" Maine Law Review, Vol. XXIII, no. 1, Univ. of Maine School of Law.

Passamaquoddy Indian Tribe of Maine
1969 "Overall economic development program for Passamaquoddy Indian Tribe of Maine." Submitted to Econ. Dev. Adm., U.S., U.S. Dept. Commerce, Washington, D.C.

Pease, Dustin
1968 "Reconnaisance report for Passamaquoddy reservation comprehensive planning proposal." Typed ms. from Maine Washington County Regional Action Agency.

Pecoraro, Joseph
1970 "The effect of a series of special lessons on Indian history and culture upon the attitudes of Indian and non-Indian students." (Maine Inds.) Augusta, Maine: State Dept. of Education.

Porter, C.H.
1886 "Annual report of the agent to the Passamaquoddy Tribe of Indians to the Honorable Governor and Council of Maine." Publ. by State of Maine.

Portland Press Herald
1971 "Stevens sworn in to Indian Post." Portland Press Herald, 8/7/71.

Pratson, Frederick J.
1970 "Land of the four directions." New York, Viking Press.

Prince, J.D.
1897 "The Passamaquoddy wampum records." Amer. Phil. Soc. Proc., Vol. XXXVI.

Proctor, R.W.
1942 "Proctor report on Maine Indians; prepared for the Maine Legislative Research Committee." Xeroxed typescript, Augusta State Library, Maine. (Note: A most important source for history and relation to state into 1940's).

Quinlan, E.
1972 "Unity College studies Indian culture-color it proud." Waterville, Me. Morning Sentinel, 8/2/72.

Rainey, Froelich G.
1936
(1956) "A compilation of data contributing to the ethnography of Connecticut and Southern New England Indians." Bull. Arch. Soc. Conn., Reprint #3.

Ray, Roger B.
1972 "The Indians of Maine: a bibliographical guide." Portland: Maine Hist. Soc.

Roberts, Eleanor, Telev. Ed.
1969 "Channel 56 shows plight of Maine Indians." (Article describing the documentary film on Passamaquoddys, "So we will stand and fight." Boston Herald Traveler, 7/10/69.

Schermer, Andrea
1967 "The Passamaquoddys---Maine's stepchildren." Boston Sunday Globe, 11/19/67.

Sockabasin, A.J. and Stone, J.G.
1971 "Off-Reservation Indian survey: Maine." Augusta, Dept. of Indian Affairs.

Soule, W.H., ed.
1970 "Prehistoric Peoples of Maine." Augusta, Maine State Museum.

Speck, F.G.
1915 "The Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki Confederacy." Amer. Anth., n.s., Vol. XVII, pp. 492-508.

Speck, F.G.
1940 "Penobscot Man." Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press.

Spindler, G.D. and L.S. Spindler
1957 "American Indian personality types and their sociocultural roots." in American Indians and American Life, Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. & Soc. Sci., Philadelphia.

Starbird, Glenn, Jr.
1971 "Brief history of Indian legislative representatives in the Maine Legislature." Augusta: Maine Dept. of Indian Affairs. (mimeographed.)

Stevens, J., Frances, E., & Hinckley E.
1969 "A proposal for the use of the job corps training center facility at Acadia National Park: Abenaki Indian High School." Ellsworth American, Ellsworth, Maine. 12/18/69.

Stevens, Susan M.
1972 "A brief history of the Passamaquoddy Indians." Dept. of Indian Affairs, Augusta, Maine. (mimeo.)

Stevens, S., Buesing G., & Buesing J.
(Unpublished)
"Once we were brothers; historical sketches of Maine and Maritime Indians." Unpubl. ms.

Tannenbaum, A.
1972 "Passamaquoddy Indian economic development; a report under EDA contract 0-35417." Washington; Continental-Allied Co: Inc.

Taylor, T.W.
1972 "The states and their Indian citizens." U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office.

Teeter, Karl V.
1967 "Preliminary report on Malecite-Passamaquoddy." Contr. to Anthro: Linguistics I. Ottawa: Nat'l. Mus. Canada, Bull. 214.

Tureen, T.N.
1971 "Remember Eastern Indians.", in Inequality in Education, Symposium on Indian education, Center for Law and Education, Harvard University, no. 10. Cambridge.

United Press International
1969 "Maine Indians sit, demand wampum." Boston Herald Traveler, 7/8/69.

U.S. Dept. of the Interior
1967 "Indians of the Eastern Seaboard." Bureau of Indian Affairs. Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office.

Vetromile, Rev. Eugene
1866 "The Abenakis and their history." New York: James B. Kirken.

Vista Magazine
1969 "In the state of reservation." (Passamaquoddy Indians.) (no author.)

Weinberg, Paul
1973 "The Indians of Maine in the first half of the nineteenth century." Unpubl. term paper prepared for Bowdoin College, Brunswick. (Prepared by Maine Dept. Indian Affairs, Augusta.)

Wiesenthol, M.
1969 "Quoddies tell their side on T.V. tonight." Maine Sunday Telegram, 7/13/69.

Williamson, W.D.
1832 "The history of the State of Maine; from its first discovery, A.D. 1602, to the separation, A.D. 1820, inclusive." Vols. I & II, Hallowell, Maine: Glazier, Masters & Co.

Williamson, W.H.
1967 "Maine's Indians: Once they owned the entire State." (Series of 5 articles on: Struggle for tribal identity; dispute with Indian agent; beginnings of the land case; Vista workers experiences; and budgetary problems with the state.) Maine Sunday Telegram, 2/22/67.

Wood, Ethel
1921 &
1922 "The Maine Indians, and their relations with the white settlers." Sprague's J. of Maine Hist., Vols. IX and X.

Wood, William
1634
(1898) "New England's prospect." Reprinted Boston: E.M. Boynton.

Wright, Pierce, Barnes & Wyman
1966 "Report on proposed improvements at State Indian reservations." prepared for state of Maine Dept. of Indian Affairs. Topsham, Maine.